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ANALYST

BRITONS AND SAXONS

BY THE REV. JOHN DAVIES

LONDON

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HISTORY
OF THE
BRITONS AND SAXONS.

BY THE REV. JOHN DANIEL,
C. A. D. A. & PRÆS.

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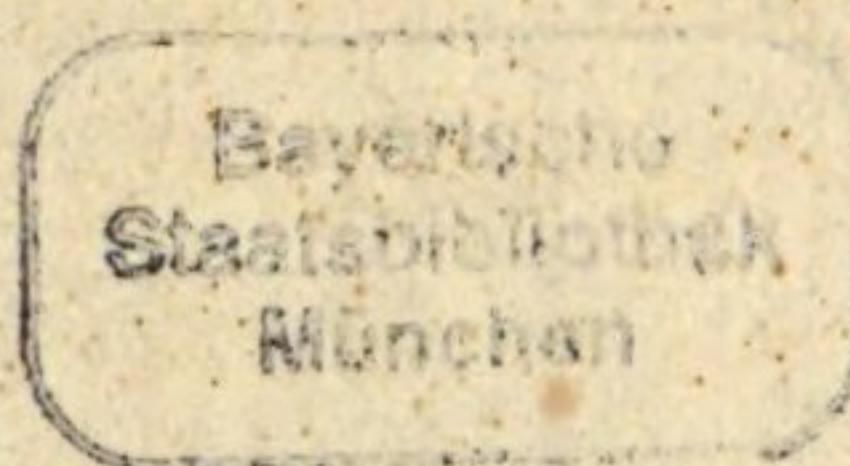
HISTORY

OF THE

BRITONS AND SAXONS

BY THE REV. JOHN DAVIES

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE



LONDON

Printed by J. G. & J. S. Smith

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PREFACE.

THIS little volume is intended to contain a short ecclesiastical history of our early forefathers, the Britons and Saxons. It shall be collected, in great measure, from the writings of Gildas, Nennius, Bede, and other ancient authors. After Bede, whom Cambden styles *the singular glory of England*, there is still in being a considerable number of domestic records. For instance, the famous Saxon Chronicle, edited by Dr. Gibson. Then follow the valuable annals of Asserius, and the dignified chronicles of Prince Ethelwerd. Some biographical lucubrations, several liturgical books, and a series of national councils, have happily survived the multifarious depredations of succeeding centuries. Almost all the aforesaid faithful evidences, with other historical pieces, now lost, were carefully con-

sulted by the industrious William of Somerset, a monk of the abbey of Malmesbury. I need not tell the reader, that this William, best known by the name of Malmesbury, is the chief guide through the lower ages. In the preface to his History of English Prelates, he well observes: "no hours can be more engaging than those employed in reviewing the deeds of ancestors, from whom we have received the documents of faith, together with inducements to a virtuous life."

Malmesbury, like Bede, inserts an occasional intermixture of civil affairs. It may not, perhaps, be amiss to pursue the same method, even in the compendious narrative.

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Ecclesiastical History,

&c. &c.

FIRST CENTURY.

ALBION is the primitive name of our island, which antiquaries usually derive from the white appearance of Dover cliffs. They are also of opinion, that it began to be inhabited within the reigns of king David or Solomon; that is, about a thousand years before the birth of Christ. In all probability, the first inhabitants came from the neighbouring continent of Gaul. It is conjectured, that these Celtæ of Gaul were followed by the Celtæ of Germany, who expelled the first tenants of the land, and compelled them to take refuge in Ireland. Shoals of Belgæ, at a much later period, were the next in-

vaders. Crossing the Channel in quest of war and plunder, they made themselves masters of the south-east parts of England; began to break up the ground, and sow corn. The islanders had a commercial correspondence with their parental tribes on the continent; and also begun to be visited, the precise date unknown, first by Phenician, and next by Grecian navigators, roving principally in search of tin; which commodity seems to have given rise to the name of Britain. Buratunac, softened by Greeks and Romans into Britannia, in the Phenician language signifies land of tin. By this appellation, the country was notified to the Romans, who made their descent about fifty-six years before the commencement of the Christian era:

Julius Cæsar was the commander of the expedition, and is in reality the first who gives us any tolerable account of the Britons. In his Commentaries they are divided into maritime, and inland. The former, he says, were very numerous; and the people of Kent much the most humanized. The interior inhabitants,

who reckoned themselves a distinct nation born in the island itself, were clothed with the skins of animals, and subsisted on milk and flesh, being almost wholly unacquainted with the primary art of agriculture. The nation at large was parcelled into a number of independent tribes, engaged in perpetual intestine broils, which had hardened them to danger, and given a surprising agility in the management of war-chariots, to the great annoyance of the Roman legions. The custom of painting the body with woad, in order to appear more terrible in battle, prevailed throughout all the clans. What they called towns, for the most part, were nothing more than woods, surrounded by a ditch and rampart.

The form of their government was rather aristocratical than democratical, but effectively lodged sovereign power in the hands of the Druids; seemingly so called from the celtic word dru, an oak; to the misletoe of which tree they paid great veneration. These savage leaders, subordinate to an Arch-druid, decided almost all controversies, whether private or

public; presided over the education of youth, and had the care of every thing belonging to religion. Like Pythagoras, and other pagan philosophers and poets, they appear to have learned from patriarchal and prophetic tradition, strangely disfigured and mingled with much falsehood, a knowledge of several sacred truths; in relation to a supreme being, the immortality of the soul, future rewards and punishments, and alternate revolutions on the face of the earth, to be caused by water and by fire. Diligent searchers, very possibly, may discover traces of a religious observance of *the seventh sacred day*, as it is denominated by Hesiod, who lived about the time of Homer. This parent of epic poetry, conjointly with Callimachus, is another voucher. Indeed, we find all ancient nations here combining; although the origin was known to none but the chosen people, to whom *the words of God were committed*.

But whatever glimmerings of divine light had been conveyed to the Druids, they still continued to sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death. Their idolatry was so monstrous

and multifarious, as to make Gildas compare it with that of the Egyptians ; whilst certain national abominations rendered them detestable even to other barbarians. Human sacrifices (shocking as it is to relate) were practised by them, and not only by them, but also by all the nations of the earth, the Jews alone excepted, in those *times of ignorance*, as they are emphatically called in the sacred scripture. Such was the rude and savage condition of our island, when invaded by Cæsar.

Having now reduced the Gauls, and repulsed the Germans, he framed an ambitious project of subduing another world, as Britain was termed by the ancients. His legions sailed from the neighbourhood of Bologne, and landed in the vicinity of Deal. But his shipping was so shattered by autumnal storms, and his men on shore so roughly handled by the Britons, that he was fain to convey his troops back to the continent. A second attempt, made in the following summer, was carried on with greater success. Especially, after he had contrived to detach the Trinobantes, the inhabitants of

Middlesex and Essex, from the confederacy formed under the conduct of Cassibellaunus, whose territories comprehended Bucks, Bedford, and Herts. Their chieftain, thus deserted, was necessitated to sue for peace, grant an annual tribute, and deliver up hostages. Nevertheless, as the Roman general neither planted colonies, nor left any garrison, he is said to have transmitted the discovery, rather than the sovereignty, of the island to his successors in the empire.

After his departure, the Britons were left unmolested down to the year of our Lord, 43. Plautus then renewed the slaughter, and was followed by the Emperor Claudius, who speedily reduced the central and other adjacent principalities into the form of a Roman province. Vespasian adds to the empire, beside many other states, the two principal nations of the Belgæ and Durotiges, with the Isle of Wight, and twenty-two towns, the fruits of more than thirty obstinate and bloody engagements. Ostorius Trapula, A. D. 50, again enlarged the Roman boundaries, by a decisive

victory over the famed Caractacus, King of the Silures, inhabiting Hereford, Monmouth, Radnor, Brecon, and Glamorganshire. The captive prince was led to Rome; where, by a speech addressed to the Emperor Claudius, he procured for himself and family a grant of liberty. Two years below the defeat of Caractacus, certain cities of the Belgæ were made over to Cagidunus, with the title of *King and Legate of the august Emperor in Britain*.

Anglesey was the great resort of the Druids, and the ordinary residence of the Arch-druid. Against these monsters of cruelty, and their adherents, Suetonius turned his arms, A. D. 61, and extirpated their altars and other implements of barbarity, the Druids themselves not excepted. In the mean time the insulted Queen Boadicea, collecting an army of two hundred and thirty thousand men, puts to the sword eighty thousand, either Romans or inhabitants of the Roman colonies; and, shortly after, loses an equal number of Britons in a battle fought against Suetonius, bringing into the field not more than ten thousand. So impotent

were the tumultuary armies (if they deserve the name) intoxicated with notions of past and future successes, when they came to be opposed to Roman discipline, and to Roman constancy. From that date, or thereabout, Britain was deemed a Roman island; and all their coins, whether of brass, silver, or gold, began to be stamped with the image of Cæsar.

Agricola, A.D. 78, following up the advantages gained by his predecessors, brought under obedience the seventeen provinces of England and Wales, which he strove to benefit by plans of civil administration. He even pushed his conquests into places thitherto unknown to the Romans, the forests and mountains of Caledonia; and erected a chain of forts between the friths of Forth and Clyde, to serve as a barrier against northern incursions. At this time, and in the manner above related, all the southern divisions of Britain became incorporated into the providential empire of Rome. The Roman empire, in a special manner, we call providential, because it was distinctly foretold by the prophet Daniel. Like-

wise, on account of its greatness, pre-ordained to facilitate a propagation of the gospel from the head, as it were, to the most distant members. It will soon be made to appear, that Britain was benefited by this wonderful disposition of Divine Providence.

The greatest part of Christians are instructed in the history of the Bible, with a certain insight into the books of the prophets, who foretel a reprobation of the Jews, the conversion of the Gentiles, and the spiritual kingdom of the Messias, to be extended to all tribes, tongues, and people. Isaias writes an history, rather than a prophecy. So circumstantially does he unfold the mysteries that accompanied the birth, life, death, ignominious passion, glorious resurrection, and triumphant ascension of the *Lord of Glory*. The prophet, moreover, pronounces, *the law shall come forth from Sion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.*

Accordingly, on the solemn feast of Pentecost, when the apostles received the miraculous gifts and graces of the Holy Ghost, St.

Peter preached the first sermon at Jerusalem, and converted several thousands of the Jews. Afterwards he opened the door of the church to the Gentiles. During a certain number of years, most probably seven, his see was fixed at Antioch, the metropolis of the East. Having then settled Christianity in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia Minor, and Bythinia; he carried the tidings of the gospel to the capital of the Roman empire, and of the world, A. D. 40. This city he made the principal seat of his residence, and chief field of his labours. Obvious, therefore, is the reason, which induced primitive writers to denominate Rome *the chair of Peter, the throne of Peter*. The doctor of the Gentiles arrived about sixteen years later; and, upon his arrival, found there already established, by the prince of the apostles, a conspicuous church of Christians. *Their faith*, he had previously said in his Epistle to the Romans, *was spoken of throughout the whole world*.

Several conversions were made even in the palace of Nero, the emperor. But the bless-

ings of heavenly peace did not remain confined to the metropolis and the adjacent country. Apostolical missionaries, deputed by the see of Rome, (whilst other apostles announced the wonders of God, and planted churches over the most distant parts of the globe) imparted the new law, the law of grace and covenant of salvation, to the western provinces of the empire, to Africa, to Spain, and to the Gauls. On these, direct evidence has come down to our days; and to these we may confidently add Britain, from a review of the continued correspondence we have seen her holding with the Roman empire.

This consideration, sufficient of itself alone to evince an early visitation in mercy, is corroborated by the authorities of the primitive apologists of the Christian religion. Sometimes they speak only in general terms; but in such terms as must be meant to comprise our remote island. At other times, Britain is pointed out by name.

Thus St. Justin, the philosopher, observes to Tryphon, one of the most learned among the

Jews: "There are some nations, in which none of your race have ever dwelt. But there is not so much as any one nation of men, either of barbarians, or of Grecians, or of any other denomination whatever; or even of those who live in waggons, and have no houses; or that dwell in tents, in which prayers and eucharists are not offered to the Father and Maker of all things, through the name of Jesus, who was crucified." Tertullian, soon after, tells the Roman persecutors: "Our origin is but of yesterday, and we already overspread your empire; your cities, islands, castles, corporations, assemblies of the people; your very camps, wards, court; your senate and your forum, abound with Christians. Your temples are the only places in which no Christians are to be found." He employs the same victorious arguments against the Jews; and in the number of Christian conquests comprehends "British territories inaccessible to Roman arms."

St. Chrysostom, to omit other passages, commemorates British Christians in a commentary upon the promise of Christ, *I will*

build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Considering the first part of the promise, *I will build my church*, he says, “The sentence is short, but comprehensive. Be not satisfied with a passing view; but revolve in your mind with serious attention, and weigh, at leisure, the difficulties of filling every nation under the sun with such changes within a short space of time; of converting such great nations, and persuading the people to abandon paternal laws and deeply-rooted customs; to expel, as dust, the tyranny of pleasure; to despise, like smoke, their altars, temples, idols, mysteries, profane solemnities, and corrupt defilements; and to erect altars over the face of the earth, in the dominions of the Romans, Persians, Scythians, Moors, Indians—what am I saying? Yea, out of the boundaries of the world. For the British islands, situated beyond the sea, and in the very ocean, have experienced the force of the promise, since churches and altars are there erected.” Our incomparable doctor then takes an extensive view of the nature of the work, the instruments em-

ployed, and the obstacles to be surmounted ; thence admiring and adoring, in the speedy conversion of such and so great a world, the hand of Almighty power, the same omnipotent hand which created heaven and earth, with all things visible and invisible. *He spoke, and they were made ; he commanded, and they were created.*

Eusebius, the parent of church history, holds the same language in an inestimable work which bears the title of *Evangelical Demonstration*. Britons are there named by the learned author, on coming to contrast the impotent attempts of pagan legislators with the successful labours of the apostles. “ The most that the former could do, was to prescribe rules to a petty state, and cause them to be observed, but only for a short time. The latter were persons of low rank and mean condition, utter strangers to every language but that of their native syriac. How could they ever entertain a thought of teaching all nations ? How could they dare to enter upon such an undertaking ? Admitting the possibility of some success over

a small number of adjoining and illiterate peasants. But this was not the case. They announced the name of Jesus, and his wonderful works, in towns and in the country; throughout the Roman empire, and in the Queen of cities; in the kingdom of Persia, and to the nations of Armenia, Parthia, Scythia, and to the farthest limits of the earth: to India, and across the ocean, into regions that are known by the name of the British Islands. No one shall ever be able to persuade me, that this was the work of man." In truth, the narrow mind of man, feeble man, never could have laid the very first foundation of this spiritual and immortal edifice. It is wholly supernatural: the manifest effect of divine promises, and of divine commands. *Going therefore teach all nations. Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils. Heaven and earth shall pass, but my words shall not pass.*

In the foregoing words of Eusebius, it is plainly signified that the faith reached Britain in the apostolic age. *Many say, who shews us good things?*

Here we have to complain, with Leland, of the want of British documents. The scarcity of them is so great, that it is not now possible to pronounce with historical credit, by whom the first seeds were sown, in what precise year, or how ample was the harvest. Gildas is conceived to allude to some more notable, and more public conversions, when he gives us to understand that the rays of Christianity begun to enlighten his country, about sixty-five years after the nativity of our Saviour. He says that the precepts of Christ, though tepidly conceived by the inhabitants, were perfectly observed by some, by others with less perfection. Certain writers, our British Jeremy being silent on this point, represent us indebted to a personal visit of St. Peter. Others name Simeon Zelotes, and James the son of Zebedee. Theodoret ascribes the merit to the glorious convert, St. Paul, made a vessel of election to carry the name of Christ before nations and kings. More recent authors assign St. Joseph of Arimathea, the patron of the Isle of Avalon, a favoured site, and highly respected

by the ancient Britons. They looked up to its church as the oldest in the kingdom, founded by the very labourers who had first planted the faith in Britain. Religious solitaries resided there; and, according to the records of that famous abbey, were protected by three successive kings, though pagans. One of the number must have been the regal Cogidunus.

Even at an earlier date, at least one mark of Christianity had been extended to the Isle of Anglesey. For, among the Druidical edifices demolished by Suetonius, in the year 61, was buried a medalion of our Saviour. It bore the figure of his head and face on one side; on the reverse, a fair Hebrew superscription importing, *This is Jesus Christ the Redeemer*. This precious monument of sacred antiquity, which Rowland describes in both his editions of *Mona Antiqua*, was dugged up in the year 1723. It may be a matter of no small difficulty to ascertain, by what means the aforesaid medal was conveyed into such a remote and sequestered island. Yet, in every possible supposition, it stands a plain and undeniable proof,

that the Jewish converts rightly understood the precept of the decalogue, on the subject of pictures and images.

Whilst an unknown number of the Britons received the gift of faith in their native land, others reaped the same benefits by journeys to Rome, resorting to the capital either through their own free and voluntary choice, or conducted as captives. It is indeed worthy of remark, that the first two Christian ladies of distinction in Rome, appear to have been natives of our island. Their names were, Pempnia Grecina, and Claudia Prefina. The former, whose conversion cannot reasonably be questioned, received her birth in Britain. Highly probable, or rather certain it is, that the latter likewise was of the same country; and, seemingly, the daughter of Cagidunus. She married Prudens, a Roman senator, then living in Britain: both embraced the faith, and are named by St. Paul in his epistles to Timothy.

SECOND CENTURY.

TRANQUILLITY contributed to diffuse the precepts of the divine laws through the southern departments; and the same benefits were carried northward, during a series of contests with the Caledonians. Against their incursions Adrian built a wall, that reached from the mouth of the Tyne to Solway Firth, A. D. 121. It passes under the name of the Pict's wall. Lellius Urbicus, A. D. 138, restrained them still more, by raising one on the tract which Agricola had chosen for his line of forts. Many years must now be suffered to pass over in silence.

In compensation, the concluding part of the century, about the year 182, forms a memorable epoch in our annals, recording the conversion of Lucius, the first Christian king in Europe. Circumstances were favourable. A Roman army had recently, in the year 171,

been miraculously preserved from evident and inevitable ruin by the prayers of the Christian soldiers, thence called the thundering legion. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius acknowledged the preservation in a public edict, and prohibited, under pain of death, the accusation of a Christian on account of his religion. No room, therefore, for surprise, to find Christianity embraced by a prince of the empire. His dependent sovereignty must have resembled that of his cotemporaries in the east, and been much on the same footing, with a small variation of title, as the royalty of Cagidunus; perhaps his grandfather. This supposition makes Lucius the nephew of Claudia Rufina, who might have been very instrumental in promoting the works of God.

From such a relationship, if admitted, it may safely be inferred, that the dominion of Lucius extended over the Belgæ. But no proper evidence appears to direct us in making out his territorial possessions. The same, or even greater, uncertainty can easily be admitted with respect to the precise year, and other

unimportant points of information ; which no wise weaken or affect the main substance of the fact, his conversion to Christianity. It is attested by the old Landaff register, by Nennius writing in the sixth century, and by an ancient catalogue of the Popes, drawn up within the reign of the Emperor Justinian, that is, between the years 527 and 565. To these vouchers, which are more than necessary, we might annex a cloud of witnesses through the succeeding ages. Let the following testimony suffice ; it is transcribed from our faithful, learned, and virtuous B de. “ Lucius, King of Britain, sent a letter to Eleutherius, desiring to be made a Christian by his command. He obtained the effect of his pious request, and the Britons preserved the faith entire and uncorrupted, in perfect peace, down to the reign of Dioclesian.”

The ministers sent by Rome, are said, upon good authority, to have been S. S. Fugatius and Damianus ; who baptized the king, and a considerable number of his subjects. Their mortal remains were interred at Glasten-

bury. Wales had a church dedicated to God under their invocation; and the memory of St. Deruvian is also preserved in Somersetshire, by a church of that name. These additional circumstances serve to substantiate the event, as well as to prove and illustrate the doctrine and discipline of the church. The like double purpose is also answered by certain ancient medals. Archbishop Usher had seen two of very high antiquity, *duos antiquissimos*, exhibiting the representation of a cross, with letters somewhat obscured, that seemed to denote *Luc*. Monsieur Bauteure gives the print of a third, which represents the head of a man on one side; on the other, a boar and emblematic star, the inscription *Lucio*. Certain Protestant writers have reckoned the aforesaid coins spurious, because they are not impressed with the image of Cæsar, which they say was ordered to be stamped on all British medals. In reply, it may be observed, that such an order, if ever issued, might easily be neglected after the lapse of a hundred and twenty years; even if the medals were designed for public use. Other

reformers, not paying proper attention and regard to the practices of the primitive ages, pretend to discover, in the sign of the cross, marks of a date posterior to the accession of Constantine the Great. "At every step," says Tertullian in this second century, . . . we sign our foreheads with the sign of the cross. . . . A practice founded on tradition, confirmed by custom, and maintained with fidelity." St. Basil witnesses the same tradition and observance in the east, and St. Ephraim in the particular churches of Syria, where he zealously exhorts the faithful to adorn and arm themselves with this invincible armour of Christians. "For," he adds, "it is the conqueror of death, the hope of the world ; the light of the utmost boundaries of the earth ; the essence of the gates of paradise ; the destroyer of heresies, the rampart of the true faith ; the great and prophetic guard of the church. Fail not, O Christian, to carry this armour about with thee in every place, all days and nights, every hour, every moment. Do nothing without it." The Greek monogram of the name of Christ, in the

form of a cross, was in use long before the reign of Constantine; and engraved on the tombs of S. S. Laurence, and many other martyrs. What is still more decisive, the sign of the cross was usually stamped on the tombs of the primitive Christians. The instructors of Lucius could not be strangers to those usages; nor would they fail to teach him, after the example of the doctor of the Gentiles, to glory in the cross of Christ.

Let the reader be persuaded, that bishops and inferior pastors were ordained for the different parts of his dominions, although no satisfactory accounts have been transmitted to posterity. The zeal of the prince, and the success of the preachers, may be justly estimated by the fame of the British Christians. It was even spread over distant countries, and celebrated, among others, by the pens of Tertulian, Origen, Eusebius, Theodoret, and St. Chrysostom.

THIRD CENTURY.

THE present century, unlike the preceding one, experienced a succession of severe disasters, inflicted by Scots, Picts, Franks, Saxons, and usurpers of the imperial diadem. Mount Grampus divided the Picts into southern and northern: the name seems not to be older than this century. To prevent their inroads, the wall of Adrian, formed only of turf and earth, was repaired and improved; and, a few paces to the north, a new one of stone constructed, in a manner answerable to the grandeur of the Roman empire. Carcursius, assisted by Franks and Saxons embarking from the coast of Holland, seized on the Roman territories in Britain, about the year 286. He was assassinated by one of his own officers, called Aleetus; who thereupon assumed the diadem. Shortly after he lost it, together with

his life, in an engagement with the forces of Constantius Chlorus.

Constantius, while a private officer in the army, had married Helen, a native of Britain, according to the unanimous tradition of English historians. She was afterwards converted, and became the first Christian Empress. In the year 293, Constantius was appointed emperor of an inferior rank, under the title of Cæsar, and had the command of Gaul, Britain, and Spain; all which he governed with great indulgence for the Christians, and a public approbation and remuneration of their heroic virtues. He gave a remarkable proof, which well deserves to be here inserted. On receiving the bloody edicts of Dioclesian, he signified to his Christian officers and household ministers, that they must either resign their dignities, or join in offering sacrifice to pagan deities. Some preferred their temporal interest before the duties of religion: others, on the contrary, remained steadfast in the faith. The former had no sooner complied by offering sacrifice, than they were despised and discarded from their em-

ployments, by Constantius, saying, those who traiterously abandoned their better allegiance, would not be faithful to their prince. The latter he promoted to the chief offices of the state, and pronounced them worthy to be entrusted with the care of his person, and of the empire. Such just and laudable principles, no doubt would have a powerful influence; but did not effectually prevent obsequious governors from extending a cruel persecution to Britain, which had hitherto continued to enjoy the exercise of the Christian religion in peace, and humble security. She is even reported to have afforded protection to her persecuted brethren, and thence obtained the appellation of *an asylum for Christians*. Her peaceful days are now about to be interrupted. We shall see the sword of persecution drawn against her, during the space of two years, and both sexes glorifying God by the most authentic, and most convincing testimonies. “They stood, as Gildas observes, in the field of battle, with invincible fortitude; and, after enduring the most cruel tortures, fixed their glorious

trophies on the gates of the heavenly Jerusalem!" Special mention is made of S. S. Julius, Aaron, and Alban, distinguished by the title of the Protomartyr of England.

FOURTH CENTURY.

THE name Alban, denotes a Roman origin; yet he appears to have been a native of Verulam, and a principal citizen of that place, which from him bears the name of St. Alban's. Although a pagan, when the imperial edicts began to be executed in Britain, he afforded protection to a clergyman known by the name of Amphibalus, and received him into his house. He was very much edified by the comportment of the servant of God, his faith and piety, and especially his uninterrupted assiduity in prayer. Instructions and exhortations, animated by such a spirit, could not fail to make an impression. Alban listened to them, and, in a short time, became a Christian inspired with the like heroic sentiments, rejoicing in the

treasure he had found, and for it despising the whole world, and life itself, as he proved by his conduct.

A few days being thus employed, the governor heard that the Christian preacher, after whom the strictest enquiries were making, lay concealed in the house of Alban. Soldiers were dispatched thither. But the servant of God had secretly withdrawn, after having exchanged clothes with Alban, who put on the caracalla or robe of the stranger. In this habit he courageously presented himself to the guards; who bound him, and led him to the judge, at that very time standing before the altar, and offering sacrifice to his idols. He was highly provoked at the saint for substituting himself in the place of his guest, and ordering him to be dragged to the images of the gods, uttered these threats: "as you have chosen to conceal a sacrilegious person and a blasphemer, the punishment that was to have been inflicted on him, shall fall on you, in case you attempt to depart from our religion." The confessor of Christ replied with a noble

freedom, that he never would obey such an order. The magistrate then questioned him concerning his family. Alban replied: "to what purpose is it to learn my family? If you would know my religion, I am a Christian." To the judge asking his name, he answered: "my name is Alban, and I worship the only true and living God, who created all things." The officer then said: "if you would enjoy the happiness of life, sacrifice instantly to the great gods." Alban replied: "the sacrifices, which you offer, are made to devils; who neither help their votaries, nor grant their petitions; whoever shall sacrifice to these idols, shall receive for his reward the everlasting pains of hell." The judge, incensed beyond measure at these words, commanded the holy confessor to be scourged. But seeing him bear with unshaken constancy, and even with joy, the most cruel tortures, at length condemned him to be beheaded.

The place assigned for execution was a hill, distant about five hundred paces from a river, which must have been the Coln. The

wall stream was exceedingly rapid, being pent up by a well and sand; and the concourse of people so great (the judge being left almost alone in the city), that Alban scarcely could have passed the bridge that evening, if he had waited to let them go over. Therefore, impatient to arrive at his crown, he went to the bank, and, lifting up his eyes to heaven, made a short prayer: upon which the stream was miraculously divided, and the river dried up in that part, so as to afford a passage for the martyr and a thousand spectators. Hercu-
 lius, the appointed executioner, was converted at the sight of the miracle; and throwing away his naked sword, prostrated himself at the feet of the saint, and earnestly supplicated to die with him, or rather in his place. Alban having reached the summit of the dry hill, wrought a second miracle in the sudden rise of a fountain. Some delay was occasioned by the conversion of Herculus, who was be-headed, and baptized in his own blood: he is mentioned in the Roman Martyrology. Another executioner, being found to comply with

the order, instantly felt the anger of heaven, his eyes falling to the ground with the head of the martyr. St. Alban suffered martyrdom on the 22d of June, and in the year 303, according to the general opinion. His blood was a fruitful seed of blessings on this country, which, for many ages, had recourse to him, and acknowledged many great favours received from God, through his intercession. The glory of his triumph became famous over the whole church. Whence Fortunatus says:

Egregium Albanum fœcunda Britannia prefert.

Miracles, in a particular manner, are the works of God, intended to raise our attention to his holy providence, and to awaken our souls to praise his goodness and power; often also to bear testimony to his truth. Like other historical facts, they depend upon the authority of the vouchers. “As for St. Alban’s miracles,” says Collier, a protestant historian, “being attested by authors of such credit, I do not see why they should be questioned.” The truth of them is still further corroborated

by the events which followed ; for it cannot be supposed that the people would have been immediately converted, and laid down their lives for the faith, unless convinced by plain facts and the clearest evidence of miracles. The great number of our martyrs of each sex is certified by St. Gildas, by St. Bride moreover, specifying the names of Aaron and Julius ; and by a British writer of good abilities, in his life of St. Alban, compiled before the close of the sixth century. This author visited Verulam, found there an account of the martyrdom of St. Alban engraved on the ruinous walls of the city ; and, after most diligent searches, committed to writing what he had learned from many warranters. His acts, which we may style secondary, as being posterior to those transcribed by Bede, evince the martyrdom of St. Amphibalus, and confirm the accounts given by other writers of the great number of British martyrs ; to which we must not neglect to add, that their value is enhanced by a clear exposition of several articles of the Catholic faith. Amphibalus, he informs us,

went to preach the gospel in Wales, and was followed by a thousand inhabitants of Verulam, animated by the exhortations of one of the spectators: "Let us go," said he, "and seek the man of God, who, as you know by his preaching, converted Alban to Christ. The truth of his doctrine concerning Christ is clearly evinced in the miracles wrought by Alban. The works of the disciple, beyond all doubt, are in perfect union with the instructions of the martyr." One of the number died on the road: all the others received the sacrament of baptism from the hands of Amphibalus, and were martyred in their return, apparently near Lichfield, which word signifies field of carcases, and owes this name to the number of martyrs who were slain and buried there in the present persecution. We still see, in the armorial bearings of the city, a landscape covered with the bones of martyrs. Amphibalus also was seized, with a design of putting him to death at Verulam; but he suffered a long and cruel martyrdom in a different place, probably Redburn, by stones, knives, and lances. Before he ex-

pired, he had the happiness to behold another thousand of his Christian converts glorifying God by their blood. The patience and joyful constancy of Amphibalus under the most barbarous torments, the immediate judgments that fell on the murderers, (not one escaping divine vengeance) and other public miracles, by the virtue of all-powerful grace, inspired the whole city with an effectual resolution of embracing the faith and service of Christ, the Son of God. *A die illa et deinceps, omnis populus civitatis — Christum Dei filium anni tempore colere studuit et timere.* The same author, with great clearness, also expounds the mysteries of the blessed Trinity, the incarnation of the Son of God, the perpetual virginity of the blessed Virgin, *virgo mater facta est, sed virginitatis insignia non amisit*, the descent of the soul of our Saviour into limbo to lead captivity captive, the invocation of the saints, protection of angels, and the veneration to be paid to the cross of Christ. *Amphibalus prosternitur ante crucem—crucem Domini adoravit.*

In the succeeding year Constantius put an

end to the persecution in Britain. He ended his days at York, A. D. 306, and was succeeded by his son, Constantine the Great, a native of our island; for such, I conceive, must be the meaning of a coetaneous panegyrist, where he says, “Constantius freed the provinces of Britain from slavery, and Constantine ennobled them by his origin.” On his accession to the imperial throne, he ordered a general cessation of the persecution—thus extending the benefits of Christian peace and liberty, of which the first dawn had been opened by his father. The fulness of day was displayed in consequence of a miraculous victory, which caused the humility of the cross to triumph over the pride of Cæsar, and thenceforward shine the brightest ornament in the imperial diadem. The circumstances, although pretty well known to Christians of every denomination, should in this place be briefly related.

Having marched an army from the borders of the Rhine to the vicinity of Rome, he found Maxentius at the head of forces vastly superior to his own. Constantine, not yet a Christ-

ian, in this distressful situation earnestly invoked the one true God, both in his march and on the day before the battle; when Christ was pleased to shew him from what power he should receive the empire of the world. Just after he had put up this fervent petition to the true God, and was travelling with a part of his army a little after mid-day, he and all that were with him beheld with astonishment, in the sky above the sun, a bright cross of light, with this inscription: *In this shalt thou conquer.* On the following night the emperor was favoured by a vision, in which Christ commanded him to make a representation of that cross which he had seen, and use it for an ensign in battle. He did so; and the cross, thereupon formed, bore the name of the Labarum. He gave battle the same day, gained a complete victory, the tyrant being drowned in the Tiber; and, on the same day, Constantine entered Rome in triumph. The senate erected a triumphal arch, and a statue of Constantine, holding in his hand a long cross, instead of a lance, with the following apposite inscription

on the pedestal: *By this salutary sign, the true mark of courage, I have delivered your city from the yoke of tyranny, and restored the senate and people of Rome to their ancient glory.* From this time downwards he published frequent edicts in favour of the Christians, built stately churches, munificently adorned the altars, supported the ministers of the gospel, and promoted the cause of religion by donations suited to his exalted dignity. (See Appendix, No. 1). In Britain, what were the effects of this reviving and triumphant era?

Gildas represents the people busily occupied in repairing ruined churches, founding basilics of the martyrs, on every side displaying signals of victory, celebrating festivals, and administering the sacraments with purity of mind and heart; in fine, a glorious exultation, he subjoins, resounded over the whole island.

Now also the names of British prelates begin to appear on the lists of subscribers to foreign councils. At that of Arles, A.D. 314, we find Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelfius de civitate colonæ Londi-

nensium, concerning the modern name of which place antiquaries are divided in their opinions, between Lincoln, Colchester, and Richborough. The synod drew up twenty-two canons, or ecclesiastical laws, on the time of celebrating the feast of Easter, the residence of clerics, the admission of catechumens, the reception of penitents, the validity of baptism conferred by heretics, excommunications, and the ordination of bishops.

Our bishops are likewise universally allowed to have assisted at the first general council, which met at Nice in the year 325; and was composed of three hundred and eighteen bishops, assembled from both the east and west; the Pope, St. Sylvester, presiding by his deputies. It fixed the time for the Easter solemnity, conformably with the rule laid down by the Council of Arles; after which date, all opponents became schismatics, and were called quartodecimans. Meletius and his schismatical adherents were received upon their repentance. A symbol or profession of faith, the Nicene Creed, was formed against the

impieties and blasphemies of the heresiarch Arius, who denied the Divinity of the Son of God. The manner of his death, like that of pagan persecutors, was most lamentable. The Arians, moreover, bore evident marks of innovation and error in their very name, in the well-known date of their first appearance, and in their actions: a bad tree cannot bring forth good fruit. In the life, therefore, of St. Athanasius, well might Alban Butler, say: "the scenes of perfidy, dissimulation, and malice, which the history of Arianism exhibits to our view, amaze and fill us with horror. Such superlative impiety and hypocrisy would have seemed incredible, had not the facts been attested by St. Athanasius himself, and by all the historians of that age. They were likewise of a public nature, having been performed before the eyes of the whole world, or proved by ocular demonstration in the Arians own synods."

The council added twenty-two canons of discipline, to regulate the election, ordination, jurisdiction, and translation of bishops, and of the inferior clergy. The third canon forbids

bishops, priests, deacons, and the clerics to have in their houses *subintroduced women*; which excludes all except a mother, sister, aunt, or other unsuspected person. Such a caution, it is evident, could never have been thought of, if clergymen had been allowed to have wives. See the *Catholic Christian*, by Bishop Challoner, c. 17. By the fifth canon, it is enjoined to hold two synods annually, one before Lent, and the other in autumn. “Let two synods be holden, one before the fast of forty days.” The sixth confirms to the Bishop of Alexandria a jurisdiction over Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis, after the example of Rome, which enjoyed a special or patriarchal jurisdiction over almost all Italy, with Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, &c. Thus far goes the parallel between the two sees; but no farther. For it is granted, on all hands, that the jurisdiction of Alexandria was restricted to the aforesaid provinces. That of Rome always went beyond Italy, the adjacent islands, and the churches of the west. It extended to all the portions of the Christian church; to the

primary prelates and very patriarchs of the east, as in the case of St. Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria. And, to omit other proofs, in the conduct of the persecuted St. Chrysostom, patriarch of Constantinople, thus preferring an humble and earnest petition to Pope Innocent: "I beseech you to write and annul these iniquitous proceedings, unjust in their own nature, and subject the authors of them to ecclesiastical penalties." Consequently with the same principles and practices, St. Cyril, of Alexandria itself, styles Pope Celestine "the father and archbishop of the whole world."

British bishops appeared at two other continental synods, the one at Sardica, A. D. 347; the second at Rimini, in the year 359. The first authorised prelates, deposed in their own dioceses, to appeal to the Bishop of Rome, as being *the head and seat of Peter*; the reason assigned by the members of the council, in their synodical letter to the Pope: *Caput, id est, ad Petri apostoli sedem*. This must not be considered as a new regulation, but only an explanatory and confirmatory law;

since an antecedent appeal to the Pope, made by St. Athanasius, had not given offence to the Arians. Neither could it incur their censures. For they themselves, a few years before the date of the said council, had applied to Pope Julius, desiring him to cite St. Athanasius to Rome. He complied with their request; but acquitted Athanasius *by virtue of the power received from blessed Peter*.

Through a want of courage and insight into the artifices of the Arians, the council of Rimini condescended so far as to omit, in a creed, the word consubstantial. But the profession of faith, there drawn up by them, was orthodox: *sensus erat in tuto*. Moreover, the synod contained none but western bishops; nor did it ever receive the sanction of the Pope. Whatever fault may be charged on the obsequious and unwary behaviour of these prelates, they lost no time in endeavouring to make an atonement. *Ariminenses statim a lapsu inflexam revocasse sententiam*, St. Ambrose observes. If the British prelates failed with the others, they imitated them in a speedy

reparation. An authentic document of the orthodoxy of the British churches is preserved in a letter of St. Athanasius, addressed to the Emperor Jovian, three years below the date of the council at Rimini. At the same time, the authority of Gildas compels us to confess, that the country did not always continue perfectly clear from the infection of transmarine Arian poison. But it was quickly dispelled by the vigilant zeal of St. Victricius, apostle of the Morini, who crossed the sea for that charitable purpose: so zealous were the pastors of the church in rooting out the weeds of error, and preserving the people in *the faith once delivered to the saints*.

The victorious situation of the church, which enabled the Britons to attend foreign councils, procured them likewise the liberty of frequenting the holy places. They had been resorted to from the Ascension of our Lord, as St. Jerome informs us. But the visits became much more easy, and more frequent, after a decisive victory over Licinius, gained by Constantine, A. D. 324. This subjected to

his dominion the whole Roman empire. His mother, St. Helen (who was converted after the above-mentioned miraculous appearance of the Cross), then undertook a journey to Jerusalem; visited the sacred monuments with extraordinary fervour and devotion, built magnificent churches, and miraculously discovered the identical cross on which Christ had suffered for our sins. On the spot she built a church, in which she deposited the main part of the cross, sending a portion of it to Constantine, then at Constantinople, who received it with great veneration. A third part was carried to Rome, to be placed in a church of her building, under the name of the Holy Cross of Jerusalem. If other pilgrims had been animated with the sentiments of this pious empress, nothing but praise, instead of complaints, would have come from the pens of the ancient fathers. They justly censure such visits, when made the occasion of sloth, dissipation, or other irregularities. But, in condemning abuses, they did not blame the practice itself; of which they have left convincing

proofs, in their own example. Thus St. Gregory of Nyssa, the most severe on the subject, says of himself: “when I saw these holy places, I was filled with a joy and pleasure which no tongue can express.”

FIFTH CENTURY.

IN the preceding pages I have endeavoured to lay before the reader a brief account of the original Britons, their wars with the Romans, their total reduction; and the prosperity which they began to enjoy under the domination of a valiant, wise, and religious emperor.

After his demise they were cruelly oppressed by governors, and plunged into still more grievous calamities by Maximus, who invaded the imperial diadem, A. D. 378, and induced many of the natives to follow him, and his fortune, into Gaul. Innumerable difficulties and dangers reducing them to the most deplorable extremities, they settled, at last, in

Arrorica, or Little Brittany, in the year 388. A small number of their countrymen had taken refuge there, to avoid the civil wars raised by Carausius and Alectus; and others steered the same course within the present century. Of these divers emigrations the second, promoted by Maximus, was the most fatal to the country, and carried away the flower of the British youth. To complete the misfortune, the Roman empire, assailed on every side by furious barbarians, found itself necessitated to recal its legions. Every reader may now, in great measure, anticipate in mind the subsequent condition of the people. Ancient writers have left us a picture crowded with calamitous disasters.

It exhibits a confused view of the expulsion of Roman magistrates, the erection of tyrannies, a group of kings, and commotion in every tribe; with the depredations of invading Irish, Scots, and Picts; as also attacks on the south made by continental barbarians. St. Bede, says the Romans, ceased to reign in Britain about the year 410. Nevertheless, in the succeeding chapter, he mentions succours twice

sent over to assist the Britons in repelling the assaults of their enemies. This posterior notice brings down the final leave, taken by the Romans, to a somewhat later and undetermined date.

Once more the Britons supplicate the protection of Rome, and apply to the consul Aetius, in an address, inscribed *the groans of the Britons*. The barbarians, they say, force us into the sea; the sea drives us back upon the barbarians: we have no choice left but to perish, either by the waves of the sea, or the swords of our enemies. Not being able to obtain any relief, they began to abandon the open country, and intermit the care of agriculture. Famine was the obvious consequence. The blessings of plentiful years, which succeeded, were turned into curses by the disorders and vices of the nation, drawing down the anger of Heaven in such a dreadful plague, that the living scarcely sufficed to bury the dead. Nennius counts forty years of devastation, consequent upon the fall of the Roman empire in Britain.

At the expiration of that tempestuous pe-

riod, the proud and vicious Vortigern had risen to regal power and dignity. In order to support his tottering throne against the assaults of the Picts, Scots, and remaining Romans, he implored the aid of a foreign power, the pagan Saxons. Their three ships are computed to have contained about fifteen hundred men, who landed on the coast of Kent, A. D. 452. Success attended the efforts of the allied armies. But altercations and quarrels soon arose, which terminated in the ruin of the old inhabitants, unable to cope with their new guests, continually reinforced by additional supplies from Germany, moreover leagued with the Scots and Picts. The major part, therefore, of the provincials fled from their fury, and sought security in Cornwall and Wales. Those who remained in England, if their lives were spared, sunk into an abject state of slavery, under the savage despotism of the Saxons, the most ferocious of all the northern barbarians. Both Gildas and Bede describe their devastations ; public, as well as private buildings, levelled to the ground ; great number of priests

murdered at the altars, prelates, together with the people, massacred; and a conflagration extending from the eastern to the western sea, yea, even covering almost the whole surface of the island.

Before the arrival of these Saxons, the forty years of devastation, as above lamented by Nennius, had caused such a dearth of learning, that the Britons were not duly qualified to combat the errors then beginning to be disseminated by Agricola, and some other followers of Pelagius, a native of Britain, and a monk of Bangor. He learned his errors at Rome from Rufinus the Syrian; his chief disciple was Celestius, a Scottish monk. Their heretical tenets, regarding the existence of original sin and the necessity of divine grace, after being proscribed by several councils, were condemned by the Pope, and the two leaders excommunicated. Though they made their pestiferous attempts mostly in Italy, Africa, and in the eastern provinces; Britain, their birth-place, was not suffered to remain entirely undisturbed and uninfected. St. Celestine,

the first Pope of that name, provided for its safety in pursuance of his pastoral vigilance ; which, he observes, was confined by no limits, but extended to all places where Christ is adored. Accordingly, he sent over, in quality of his vicar *vice sua*, St. Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, about the year 429. At the request of a Gallican synod, St. Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, accompanied him in this important mission. After appeasing a furious tempest at sea, by invoking the adorable Trinity, and casting in some drops either of blessed oil or holy water, they arrived in Britain ; and soon filled the whole country with the fame of their sanctity, doctrine, and miracles. When the church, which often was the case, could not contain the crowds that flocked to hear them, they preached in the fields, or on the highways ; confirming the Catholics, and bringing back such as had been led astray. At length, the Pelagians were ashamed of shunning them, and thus carrying their own condemnation in silence and flight. To wipe off this stain, they accepted a conference, which was held at Ve-

rum, in the presence of an incredible number of people. The heretics displayed rich apparel, and much pomp; opened the disputation, and declaimed in a multitude of words. The answer of the bishops was recommended by true eloquence, and so invincibly supported by quotations from the scripture, that the Pelagians were totally reduced to silence; at which the people applauded the victory with joyful acclamations. Before the assembly broke up, a certain tribune and his wife presented their daughter, ten years old, who was blind, to the two holy bishops. They directed them to take her to the Pelagians; who not only declined, but even joined with the parents in begging the saints to pray for her. They did so in a short prayer. St. Germanus then invoked the blessed Trinity, and taking from his neck the little box of relics which he wore, laid it upon the eyes of the girl before the whole assembly. She instantly recovered her sight, to the great joy of her parents, and all the people. The girl, her parents, and the numerous spectators, most assuredly, would conceive a devout and reli-

gious respect for sacred relics. And does not the light of reason itself invite and command others to entertain and express a like veneration, when they read such miraculous benefits, recorded in numberless authentic histories, and in the inspired writings of the Old and New Testament?

From this conference, which put an end to all ^{on} exposition, the two bishops went to return thanks to God at the tomb of St. Alban, the most illustrious martyr in Britain. St. Germanus caused his sepulchre to be opened, and deposited in it his box of relics of apostles and martyrs, taking from the same place a little of the dust, which still retained some marks of the blood of St. Alban. At his return to Auxerre he built a church in his honour, where he placed these relics. Many other particulars may be seen in the life of St. Germanus, compiled by Constantius, an author of the same age. He notices St. Germanus saying mass, praying for the dead, and repeats the very words he used in his invocation of the saints; which are these: *N. most ear-*

nestly intercede to our Lord Jesus Christ, for us and for this people.

Venerable Bede, copying the text of Constantius, moreover marks out the season of the year; the *sacred days of Lent, rendered more sacred by the presence of the two priests.* They did not fail to observe the ancient discipline of the church, appointing Easter a time for the solemn administration of baptism. But before the neophytes, or newly baptized, had laid aside their white baptismal robes, they were on the point of being overwhelmed by the united forces of the Picts, and of the ^{Xons} *Saracens*, of whom parties infested the island antecedently to the notable debarkation. St. Germanus, in this moment of terror and consternation, had recourse to the military art, which he had learned and practised in his early days. He directed the Britons to draw up their army between two hills, with orders, at an appointed time, thrice to repeat with loud acclamations, Alleluia. The stratagem answered, or even surpassed all expectation; it caused a re-echoing from the mountains,

which struck a panic terror into the piratical battalions, imagining the swords of a mighty army prepared to cut them in pieces. They threw away their arms, and fled with precipitation, leaving behind them all their baggage, and a great booty. Many were drowned in attempting to pass a river. The memory of the victory has been perpetuated, and is still preserved in the name Maes German, Field of Germanus; who gave the glory of this temporal, as of all his spiritual success, to the merits and protection of St. Alban.

Our two benefactors, having now accomplished more than the object of their mission, returned to the continent, and to the superintendence of their respective dioceses. However, St. Germanus was induced to revisit Britain, on being informed that her peace began to be again disturbed by a few abettors of the aforesaid heresy: *paucis auctoribus, errorem esse paucorum*, are the limiting expressions of Constantius. St. Severus, Bishop of Treves, accompanied him in this second journey, which was crowned with complete success

over the enemies of divine grace; and followed by additional benefits, in the erection of schools, and other nurseries of learning and piety, at the persuasion of St. Germanus.

St. Dubricius, by him consecrated Bishop of Landaff, founded one at Kentlan, and a second at Mochches, both situated on the banks of the river Wye. These two houses, quickly became known, and frequented by numerous Britons of every rank, and from every quarter of the country. For a long course of years he had under his immediate direction not fewer than a thousand scholars. St. Iltut also erected a famous school and monastery, which transmitted in the appellation, Llan-Iltut, the memory and merits of the founder. A fourth was opened by Paulinus, in the Isle of Wight. We read of several monasteries of the name of Bangor or Benchor, that is *beautiful chair*. One in the county of Down in Ireland; a second in Caernarvonshire; a third in Cardigan-shire; and, lastly, of Bangor in Flintshire. This was the most ancient and most cele-

brated, although the date of its first foundation appears to be irrecoverably lost.

We now approach to the times of the *dispersions of Israel*, that is, of the servants of God flying from the swords of pagan Saxons. In this place, I shall with veneration commemorate St. Ursula, and her virgin companions, who passed into Germany, and there met with a glorious death in defence of virginity, being murdered by an army of the Huns, near the Lower Rhine. Their exact number, very great, cannot be ascertained. Their sacred remains were interred at Cologne, and over the tombs was built a church, which had become very famous in the year 643.

The present lamentable condition of the Britons, may more easily be conceived than expressed. It did not, however, hinder them from imitating the Christians of other countries, by travelling into Syria, to contemplate the wonderful life of St. Simeon Stylites, who lived thirty five years on pillars, in the exercise of uncommon mortifications and penance. His practices, Theodoret an eye-witness observes,

appear incredible to worldly minds. But he relates them with joy and confidence, because they were evidenced by visitants of every nation. “ You might see there, he says, not only persons of our province, but also Israelites, Russians, Armenians, Iberians, Ethiopians, and others living at a still greater distance. At the same time, his fame drew visitants from the remotest regions of the West, as from Spain, Britain, Gaul, &c.” At the sight of such an example, many would be animated to a greater fervour in the service of God. Beside this salutary effect, others received corporeal benefits, in a great number of miraculous cures. Theodoret gives several instances of great and evident miracles, wrought before his own eyes ; of his spirit of prophecy ; and of hundreds and thousands of infidels, “ Abjuring with a loud voice their false religion, treading their idols under their feet, in the presence of this bright light of Christianity ; embracing the divine mysteries of our holy faith, and receiving from the sacred mouth of this man of God, the rules of life, which they are to follow for the time to

come. I myself have been witness of all this." Hence, it cannot be a cause of surprise to find the princes and queens of the Arabians coming to receive his blessing; or, that he was respected by a cruel persecutor, Vararanes, King of Persia; and so greatly honoured by the Christian emperors, Theodorus, Leo, Marcian, and the empress Eudoxia.

SIXTH CENTURY.

EVERY one has learned the name and meaning of the Saxon heptarchy; or seven independent kingdoms, which were formed in succession according to the following order of time. Kent about the year 457; Sussex, A. D. 491; Wessex, A. D. 519. A noble stand, in defence of his country, was here made by the renowned prince Arthur. He fought many battles, gained great advantages, and at last obtained a glorious victory over the Saxons, at mount

Baden, near Bath, in the year 520. An enumeration of particulars would be a satisfaction not now to be afforded. His achievements, unfortunately, have been disfigured by the colourings of British bards; and by Geoffrey of Monmouth, an unwilling retailer, by no means the forger, of many romantic stories. This author had in his possession a history of the Britons in their language, supposed to have been composed about the end of the eighth century; which he translated into Latin; at first, in a plain historical style. In a second translation, he superadded the said fabulous reports, out of compliance with the solicitations of friends; especially Walter Archdeacon of Oxford, and Alexander bishop of Lincoln; let therefore the weight of censure fall on the chief promoters of an insertion of fictions, regarding Arthur, and other personages. The four remaining states were Essex, founded A. D. 527; Northumberland, A. D. 547; East Anglia, A. D. 576; and Mercia, A. D. 585.

No sooner were the Saxon potentates eased of apprehensions from the Britons, than their

propensity to war, and passions for wealth and dominion, excited them to turn their arms against their fellow-invaders. These contests produced a superiority, or a species of general monarchy. It was exercised first by Ella, King of the South Saxons; next, by Ceaulin, of Wessex; then, by Ethelbert, of Kent; afterward, by the Kings of East Anglia and Northumbria; and, lastly, by Egbert, of Wessex. Thus, the Saxon heptarchy bore an analogy to the British constitution of the same age; the former admitted of the title of Monarch, and the latter had Chief Kings; but before the end of this century, the Britons, having lost their country, began moreover to lose their very name, and adopt the appellations of Welch, and Wales. There they found self-defended fortresses in woods and morasses, from which they sallied out with their wonted bravery; ever ready, as opportunity served, either for fight or flight:

His silvæ sunt pro turribus,
 Paludes pro aggeribus,
 Fugans ut Pugnam capiunt,
 Cum opportunum sortiunt.

Great obligations, in former days, had been owing to the prelates of Gaul, who came to the assistance of Britain, then unprovided with learning sufficient to pursue and crush the subtleties of the Pelagians. Now, in return, the exiled Britons employ their piety and learning in strenuous endeavours to enlighten the Gaullish provinces of Britany, Lower Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; which were all comprised under the general name of Aremorica, that is, maritime country. The first seeds of faith, it is true, had been sown there by St. Gatian, about the middle of the third century. The harvest was made general by the laborious hands of the British clergy, both secular and regular. Such a loss of pastors, though severely felt, did not, however, leave Britain destitute of persons eminent for piety and learning. St. Gundleus and St. Cadoc, two princes of South Wales, entering into serious considerations on the varieties and dangers of a worldly life, abandoned their temporal wealth and honours, in order to obtain the riches of divine grace, and

secure the treasures of eternal glory. The like was done by St. Petrac, St. Theliau, St. Daniel, St. David, St. Thurtigern, St. Asaph, and others, mostly of royal or noble parentage. More particular attention must be given to St. David, patron of Wales.

He was the son of Zantur^d, Prince of Cardiganshire, and, after his sacerdotal consecration, embraced an ascetic life in the Isle of Wight. On coming out of his solitude to announce the word of God, he was invited to an assembly of British bishops at Brevi in Cardiganshire, A. D. 519, convened for the purpose of rooting out the seeds of the Pelagian heresy again shooting forth in Britain. David did not disappoint the prelates; by the force of his eloquence, learning, and miracles, he restored perfect peace and orthodoxy. In a grateful admiration of his abilities and virtues, the council requested, and even compelled him to submit to the archiepiscopal dignity; after making a concession in his favour, which was, a translation of the see from Caerlion, then a populous city, to the

retired and more welcome site of ⁿMerceria, now called St. David's.

Not long after the date of the synod at Brevi, St. David summoned another to Victoria; which confirmed the acts of the former, with an addition of several canons relating to different points of discipline. British churches continued to recur to these two councils, ratified at Rome, as a measure or standard by which they adjusted and regulated their ecclesiastical procedures. Although the said canons, as almost all the writings of the eminent British doctors, have perished; yet a competent knowledge of the monarchical state may be derived from a description of the statutes observed in their monasteries. Twelve, at least, were founded by St. David; the most famous of all was that situated near Merceria, in the Vale of Ross.

By the usage of this house, postulants underwent a severe trial of ten days, at the door; and, on entering, left their wordly substance behind them, no present being received on the score of admission. The monks were bound to assi-

duous manual labour, lived on bread and vegetables, and drank nothing better than water coloured by a mixture of milk. Neither were they allowed the use of cattle in cultivating the ground. They rose early, and persevered in prayer till the hour appointed for work. While thus employed, they practised either vocal or mental prayer; never breaking silence but in cases of necessity. A certain portion of the evening was allotted to reading and writing, and three hours given to adoration and prayer. All the monks discovered their most secret thoughts and temptations to the abbot. Confession of sins, it must here be observed, was not a practice peculiar to monks, but an indispensable duty incumbent on the laity of all conditions. Of this universal duty, manifest proofs appear in the lives of St. Sunton and St. Muchæmac, by Latin writers correspondently called Pulcherius. On ascending to higher times, we find confession of sins enjoined in the old law, practised by the disciples of St. John Baptist, and by the primitive Christians. In the epistle of St. James it is prescribed, *confess your sins*

one to another. The precept is manifestly contained in the commission Christ gave to his ministers, of *binding or loosing, forgiving or retaining sins.* For it is visible that this commission cannot be rightly executed without cognizance of the same, which is not to be obtained but by *confession.* Whence St. Augustine says, to pretend that it is enough to confess to God alone, is annulling the power of the keys given to the church; it is contradicting the gospel, and making void the commission of Christ. On these motives was grounded the belief and practice of the first three centuries, and of all succeeding ages.

The spirit and substance of the aforesaid penitential rule of St. David, was both preceded and followed by the other British monasteries. The history and the constitution of St. Asaph's, is recommended by singular circumstances.

St. Theutigern, Bishop of Glascow in Scotland, being driven from his own see by the usurpation of Morcant Maws, fled to North Wales. Soon after the year 543, he erected a monastery and episcopal chair on the banks of

the river Elwy. When recalled to Glascow, he took in his company several hundreds of British scholars; having previously appointed Asaph, the most distinguished of his disciples, abbot and bishop at Llan-Elwy, from the saint afterward named St. Asaph's. This abbey, it is said, contained 965 monks, serving God in great continence. The care of the land, cattle, and of other temporalities, occupied 600. The remaining 365 were divided into companies, so arranged as to preserve, in the church, a succession of the divine praises, *all the day, and all the night*. Under the name of divine praises, are here comprised all the other exercises of religion, and particularly prayers for the faithful departed. To this holy and wholesome thought, great attention was paid by the Britons, as by all other Christian churches; for the practice of offerings and prayers for the dead, Doctor Jeremy Taylor, a Protestant divine, very candidly acknowledges, "was at first, and was universal." In the life of St. Dubricius, the Bishop of Landaff enjoins, "that daily prayer and ecclesiastical

service be performed for the soul of him (King Mourie), and for the souls of his parents, kings and princes of Britain, and for all the faithful departed." In the same life we see the use of holy water and of relics, with a solemn procession of the clergy carrying crosses in their hands, and accompanied by the king. This portion of the manuscript on the life of St. Dubricius has an undisputed claim to a venerable antiquity; and even judged to be in the hand-writing of St. Thelian, the immediate successor of the saint in the see of Landaff.

While the desert and the solitude were thus gladdened by spiritual canticles, the other portions of the field of the Lord abounded with assiduous labourers reaping an abundant harvest, under the inspection of the chief director at St. David's. To this, his metropolitan see, are assigned seven suffragans; at Worcester, Hereford, Llan-Badun, Morgan, St. Asaph's, Bangor, and Landaff. The privilege of the church of Landaff was established by apostolical authority. "*Statutum est enim apostolica auctoritate istius ecclesiæ privilegium,*"

says the register of the same church. Gildas distinguishes St. Peter by the title of *Prince of the Apostles*. In a word, the pre-eminence of the successors of St. Peter was so universally known, and so deeply impressed in the minds and hearts of Christians, as to cause it to be acknowledged even by the two heresiarchs, Pelagius and Celestius : the latter, by making an appeal to the holy see; and the former, by his submissive words addressed to the Pope. *Emendari jussimus a te, qui Petri et fidem et sedem tenes.*

But it was not only in the sanctuary and in the cloister that the duties of religion were practised with grateful fidelity. Gildas celebrates the immediate and the consecutive fruits of the victory gained at Mount Baden, A. D. 520. Kings and princes, public and private characters, the clergy, and every order of the people, are highly extolled, as abounding in good works. This tranquillity and happiness continued so long as the memory of the battle subsisted. When a new generation, unacquainted with those days, grew up in peace

and plenty, they abandoned themselves to vice, and broke out into cruel contests, which involved the country in all the horrors of civil butchery. Our author singles out five of the actually reigning toparchs, whom he endeavours to reclaim, by laying before them the general and particular judgments of an offended God. Aurelius Corron is reminded of the untimely deaths of his father and brothers. To Vortiper, a monster of cruelty and lust, he addresses the invitations and menaces of the scripture, *Turn away from evil, and do good: otherwise, remember that the worm of thy torture will never die, and the fire in which thou shalt burn will never be extinguished.* Exhortations and remonstrances of a similar nature are made to Curreglas, Maelgun, and Constantine; how can you stand insensible, whilst you are murdering your own souls? *Loose the bands from off thy neck, O captive son of Sion, &c.* Constantine, awakened by his instructions, abandoned his criminal habits, the thorny ways of vice, and returned to a sense of his duty, and to an observance of the divine com-

mandments, in *keeping them there is great reward.*

From the princes he passes to the clergy, who had likewise fallen into various irregularities and disorders. They are censured as envious, avaricious, slothful, unchaste, drunkards, haters of reading, seldom offering sacrifice, seldom standing at the altar with a pure heart, &c. He gives specimens of their avarice and ambition, by describing the pains they took in crossing seas and traversing spacious kingdoms, in order to procure ecclesiastical preferments; and then notes the pomp by them displayed on their success, and return to their native country. The high court of audience to which they resorted is not named: but the course of their journeys, over seas and large kingdoms, naturally carries our thoughts to the continent, and fixes our eyes on the see of Rome, the seat of the successors of St. Peter, who had been divinely commissioned to feed both *lambs* and *sheep, people* and *pastors*. Notwithstanding the profligacy of that ignorant and degenerate clergy, it does not appear that

any of them ever returned to a marriage, necessarily renounced at the time of their sacred ordination; in which case the delinquent would have been stigmatized an adulterer, and subjected to the same punishment. The great St. Columban,* to be mentioned below, is a witness above exception. The penitential of Cumian, the son of Fiacna, King of West Munster, delivers the same doctrine, and nearly in the same words. They are in perfect unison with the tenets of the primitive fathers of the church, by whom a violation of the vow of chastity is called death, adultery, sacrilege, and perfidy. In the midst of these lamentations, Gildas does not forget to make some few exceptions in behalf of pastors, whose conduct he describes in terms of admiration, with an

* “Si quis autem clericus, vel diaconus, vel alicujus gradus, qui laicus fuit in seculo cum filiis et filiabus, et post conversionem suam, iterum suam cognoverit elientelam, et filium iterum de ea genuerit, sciat se adulterium perpetrasse, et non minus peccasse, quam si a juventute sua clericus fuisset, et cum puella aliena peccasset; quia post votum peccavit, postquam se Domino consecravit; et votum suum irritum fecit, ideireo similiter septem annis in pane et aqua pænitetat.” *Collectanea sacra*, apud Fleming, p. 20.

ardent desire of copying their virtues into his own life. He was born in the year of the great victory gained over the Saxons, A. D. 520, at Mount Baden. From this concurrence he is styled *Badenicus*, in contradistinction to Gildas *Albanus*, of an earlier date. The other appellation of *Wise* explains itself, and the fame of his virtues, to which his infancy was formed in the monastery of Iltutus. Some time after his monastic profession, with the consent of his abbot, Iltutus, he passed over into Ireland, with a view of learning, from the disciples of St. Patrick, the ways of greater perfection. Afterwards he sailed to Brittany, and entered upon an eremetical course of the strictest retirement, accompanied with such austerities, that his life might be denominated a continual martyrdom. At length, yielding to the urgent solicitations of the inhabitants, he founded a monastery at Rhuis. In these parts he composed his work, *De excidio Britanniae*, not long before his death, in the year 570, or perhaps 581. This ancient piece exhibits hardly any thing more than complaints and

exhortations, the historical introduction being extremely concise, and barren of events; not by the negligence of the author, but from a scarcity, or even dearth, of domestic memorials. If any such ever existed, he feelingly grieves that they had either been consumed in Saxon flames, or conveyed by British fugitives into distant regions.

Nennius also wrote a history of the Britons, which has been crowded with many interpolations. Of the original work, as it came from the hands of the author, the best judgment may be formed upon the edition of Copenhagen. Whitaker observes: "The conclusion of the history demonstrates it to have been composed betwixt 547 and 560." ^{Dom.} Dan. Morice (*Histoire de Bretagne*, v. 1, p. 874) adduces other arguments, drawn from the names of the persons connected with Nennius; such as a Beulan, an Elvodugus, Probus, Paulin, Nennicon, Tuathal, and Diarmit. All these names occur about the end of the sixth century, but are not to be found in later times. "Whence," says this pious, learned, and mo-

dest monk, “we must conclude, that Nennius is an author who lived toward the end of the sixth and beginning of the seventh century.”

Neither Nennius nor Gildas speak of the Britons who remained under the dominion of the pagan Saxons. Their situation was cruel in the extreme, as we gather from the already mentioned compiler of the life of St. Alban, who wrote before the conversion of the Saxons. This circumstance is evidently manifested in his prayers. They are most fervently offered up for the conversion of the country, with hopes that the time is not distant in which it will please God to send into Britain a Christian instructor to preach to the Gentiles. After the death of St. Amphibalus, he informs us, many British Christians undertook journeys of piety to Rome: *multi divini amoris instinctu sua relinquentes Romam adeunt.* He signifies a like design in himself, there to abjure the errors of paganism, receive the sacrament of regeneration, obtain the remission of his sins, and submit his book, the Life of St. Alban, to the inspection of the Romans. *Libellum*

quoque istum, qui habetur in manibus offeram examini Romanorum. He further adds: "If any one desire to learn my name, let him call me a miserable man, a sinner; my other name I dare not venture to make known, lest it should cause the loss both of my name, and of my life; for the whole country is covered with snares. *Insidiantium laqueis plena sunt-omnia.*"

In religious matters, the Britons were closely connected with the Picts, the Scots, and the Irish. Of these, therefore, a cursory view may be taken. It will contribute to throw a little more light on the primary objects of inquiry.

Tertullian is thought to call our attention to Scotland, when he celebrates Christian conquests extending beyond the Roman eagles. Some of their own historians refer the first establishment of the gospel to the year 200, and own themselves indebted to missionaries sent by St. Victor, Pope and martyr. But St. Palladius is honoured with the title of the Apostle of Scotland. He had a delegation from Celestine, then sitting in the chair of St.

Peter; and, after a short stay in Ireland, opened his mission in Scotland, A. D. 431. This undertaking, of infinite labour, difficulty, and danger, he carried on with a degree of success, that enabled him to form a considerable church. He continued to govern it till the day of his happy death, A. D. 450.

In the beginning of the same fifth century, “the southern Picts, St. Bede relates, who dwell on this side of the mountains, leaving the error of idolatry, had received the faith of the truth; the word being preached to them by Nirryas, a most reverend bishop, and most holy man of the nation of the Britons; who was regularly instructed at Rome in the faith, and in the mysteries of truth. The seat of whose bishopric is commonly called Candida Casa, the white house; because the saint built there a church of stone, an unusual sight among the Britons.”

In the next century, St. Theutigern, Bishop of Glasgow, imitated the labours and the virtues of the apostles; and moreover sent the monks, his disciples, to preach the faith to

the northern Picts and Scots, as also in the Islands of Orkney, Norway, and Iceland. The conversion of the northern Picts, after a foundation thus laid, was completed by St. Columba, an illustrious patriarch of the Irish monks. He entered Scotland in the year 565, and had a conference with St. Theutigen previously to the exercise of his apostolical functions, which procured him the title of the apostle of the aforesaid Picts. His monastery in the Island of Hy, or Torra, for several ages, was the chief seminary of North Britain.

Although the word of life had penetrated into Ireland in the early days of Christianity, the kingdom could not be said to be converted before the time of St. Patrick, who received episcopal consecration about the year 432. No one can be a stranger to the zealous labours, virtues, and miracles of this great apostle. He is believed to have employed, at least, forty years in a faithful discharge of the sacred ministry ; in building churches, founding monasteries, and holding councils. In the

seventeenth canon of his first council, unintelligible in Spelman, but clearly expressed by Wilkins, a sentence of excommunication is denounced against a violator of the vow of virginity. Gildas also repeatedly mentions vows of perpetual continency: whence Whitaker owns "that the monastic vows of the Saxons, as of the Britons before them, were obligatory for life, and prohibitory of matrimony." The monasteries, and other schools of piety and learning, then erected by St. Patrick, were frequented by foreigners, and especially the Britons, during the course of the three succeeding centuries. On the other hand, Cornwall was a favourite retreat for the Irish saints, their names still appearing in many towns; such as St. Columb's Mewan, St. Erben, St. Eval, St. Wenn, St. Endor, St. Pieran's, &c.

St. Corngal, the eminent promoter of monastic discipline in Ireland, visited the saints of Wales about the year 555, and built them a monastery in the territory of Heth. His monachal rule is still in being: but the lan-

guage, Usher tells us, can hardly be understood by moderns. That of his disciple, St. Columban, will repair the loss. It consists of ten chapters, which treat of obedience, silence, diet, worldly desires, vanity, charity, recital of the divine office, discretion, mortification, and the perfection of a monk. About the age of thirty, he passed into Britain, and thence into Gaul, where he founded three monasteries in that part which is now called Lorrain. On being reprov'd by the Gallican bishops for his erroneous method in calculating the time of Easter, he consulted the Popes, St. Gregory and Boniface, requesting the latter to give him leave to observe the custom of his native country, provided it were not contrary to faith, *si non est contra fidem*. That he corrected his mistakes, it is clearly evinced, from one of his letters of a later date, and from other circumstances. After sanctifying the desert of Voge for twenty-five years, he went to Zurich, and then to Italy, in which he founded the famous monastery of Bobio, amidst the Appenine mountains. Here he fell

into another error (which he corrected), by engaging in a dispute with Pope Boniface, on the affair of the three chapters: a question on which Doctor Cave allows he was not rightly informed. His letter to Boniface, written with full freedom, cautions him against an undue exercise of authority; which, if abused, would be void and null in the sight of God. At the same time, his adhesion to the chair of St. Peter is expressed in the clearest, and in the strongest terms: *devincti sumus cathedræ sancti Petri*. He compares Boniface to a *generalissimo*, possessing the plenitude of power, and places him at the head of the church militant. *Te totum expectat qui potestatem habes omnia ordinandi, bellum instituendi, duces excitandi, arma corripere jubendi, tubas undique sonandi, certamen demum, te in fronte gradiente, ineundi*. See Appendix, No. 2.

From this summary view it appears, that the Britons, Picts, Scots, and Irish, were united in matters of religion; and lived in communion with the other members of the church of Christ. The orthodoxy of the faith

in Britain is moreover attested by Eusebius, St. Athanasius, St. Chrysostom, St. Jerôm; and by Gildas, even in the vehemence of his severe castigations. The same unity in faith likewise subsisted between the Britons and the apostle of the Saxons. This interesting point calls for elucidation, which shall be given in due time.

St. Augustine opened his mission in the year 596. But a detail of his embassy, one of the choicest passages to be found in ecclesiastical history, may more commodiously be placed at the head of the ensuing century. Let us begin with the providential incident which inspired the first idea of announcing the gospel to the people of England.

SEVENTH CENTURY.

As Gregory, surnamed the Great, was passing through the slave-market at Rome, he took notice of the fine complexion of certain Saxon youths there exposed to sale; and lamented much to see such comely countenances in the possession of the prince of darkness. The names of their nation, province, and king, *Angles*, *Deira*, and *Alle*, furnished him, it is reported, with pious allusions to *Angelical*, drawn from *wrath*, and *Alleluia*. The praises of God the Creator, he subjoined, must be sung in those regions. Words and wishes were succeeded by a supplication addressed to Pope Benedict, who authorised his petitioner to enter upon a journey to Britain; from which he was not withheld but by the solicitations of the Roman people, unwilling to lose their pastor. Thus they prevented, for a while, the effects of his zeal, but did not frustrate the main design;

which some years later was renewed, and with a better prospect of success. For Gregory had then heard that the English nation, God granting, desired to embrace the Christian religion; but that the priests of a vicinal country were unwilling to exercise in their favour a pastoral solicitude. He joyfully received the first part of the intelligence, and without delay, no doubt, deputed Augustine, and other monks, to carry thither the tidings of salvation. Gregory was then in the fourth year of his reluctant acceptation of the government of the whole church.

The missionaries, after some progress on their way, probably as far as Aix in Provence, began to be terrified by representations of the barbarity of the people, whom they intended to visit; and with whose very language they were utterly unacquainted. In consequence of these remonstrances, the missionaries admitted thoughts of relinquishing an attempt which seemed to presage nothing but difficulties and unavailing perils. Accordingly, Augustine returned with this statement to Rome. But

Gregory, whose confidence increased with danger, quickly dispelled all wavering anxieties, by a letter in which he mingles reproach with tender exhortation; and cordially wishes it were in his power to bear a personal share in the glorious undertaking.

Nec labor vos ineris, nec maledicorum hominum linguæ detineant.

The words of a saint infused new life and vigour. They resumed their journey, accompanied by French interpreters, and landed on the Isle of Thanet, amounting in all to the number of about forty persons. At this epocha, Ethelbert was the King of Kent. Roused from a state of inactivity by dangers that menaced his hereditary dominions, he took to martial exercises; and, in a short time, by a continued chain of victories, acquired a command over the other kingdoms, Northumbria alone excepted.

To this, then so powerful a sovereign, the missionaries sent up an address, laying before him the nature and motives of their journey. Informing him that they had come from Rome,

with a most happy message for those who would embrace it; undoubted assurances of everlasting joys in heaven, and a never ending kingdom. The king directed Augustine and his attendants to remain in the island, and there wait for further instructions. In the mean time, he took care to have them provided with all the necessaries and conveniences of life. This first act of benevolence must have been recommended by his royal consort, Queen BIRTHA, a Christian, and daughter of the King of Paris. She is indeed mildly reprimanded by St. Gregory, for an omission of more early endeavours; although she had not been wholly inattentive and neglectful of imparting some knowledge of the Christian faith. In her marriage articles it was stipulated that she should enjoy the free exercise of her religion, with a chaplain named Luidhard, Bishop of Senlis.

Within a few days, Ethelbert repaired to the said island, and admitted them to a conference, he himself sitting in the open air, under a superstitious notion of preventing the force of magical spells. “ But they came

armed," says our venerable historian, "not with diabolical, but divine virtue; carrying for their banner a silver cross, and the image of the Lord our Saviour painted on a board; and singing litanies, made humble prayer for their own, and for the eternal salvation of them for whom, and to whom they were come." In answer to their discourses, the king observed that their premises were fair; but being new and uncertain, he could not embrace them in opposition to the old and established maxims of his nation. However, as they had performed a long journey on his account, with a view of persuading him to receive what they believed to be true and most salutary, he would not suffer them to be molested. On the contrary, he engaged to entertain them with kindness, granted a full liberty of preaching, and converting his subjects; and appointed Canterbury, the metropolis of his kingdom, for the place of their residence.

At first, they assembled in an ancient church, built by the Britons in the time of the Romans, near the city toward the east, in ho-

nour of St. Martin. There they met to *sing*, *pray*, *say mass**, to *preach*, and *baptize*, strenuously labouring to enforce their instructions by the spiritual arms of the gospel, *watching*, *fasting*, and *prayer*. The number of believers increased daily; more particularly when the king had set an example, having been convinced by the sanctity of their lives, the force of their discourses, and the splendour of many miracles. He earnestly desired to see the same happiness communicated to all his subjects, and shewed a singular affection for the believers, as his fellow citizens in the heavenly kingdom; but did not force any one to embrace Christianity; for he had learnt from the teachers and authors of his salvation, that the service of Christ ought to be voluntary, and free from compulsion.

A faithful relation of this success was

* It does no credit to modern historians, to fly with dread from the two plain and important words, *missas facere*, *say masses*. Collier translates them *solemn offices of religion*, p. 67; Carte, p. 222, *other acts of devotion*; while they are totally suppressed by Fuller, Warner, and the rest.

speedily conveyed to Rome, where it excited the most tender sentiments of pious thanksgiving, particularly in the breast of St. Gregory. He expressed his sense of the divine bounty in letters to Ethelbert, to BIRTHA, and to Augustine; at the same time cautioning him against vanity, on account of his miracles. In writing to Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria, he says: "Whereas there is a nation situated in a corner of the world, which, till our times, has remained in infidelity, worshipping stocks and stones; it has pleased God, in consideration of your prayers, to give me thought to send thither a monk of my monastery, to preach the faith to that people. He, therefore, by my licence, having been made bishop by certain prelates of the German nation, with the help of some assistance that they gave him, was conducted to that barbarous country. Letters, which we have just received from him, bring us the news of his safety, and of his labours; and of himself and of his companions being glorified in that nation by such great miracles, that they seem to imitate in their

signs and wonders, the power of the apostles. Moreover, in the last solemnity of the nativity of our Lord, more than ten thousand of the English nation, as we are informed, were baptized by this our brother and fellow-bishop."

To satisfy the wants of an infant church, St. Augustine requested and obtained an additional supply of ministers: Mellitus, the first Bishop of London; Justus, first Bishop of Rochester; and Paulinus, the first Archbishop of York, accompanied by several other eminent disciples of St. Gregory. With this colony, were likewise transmitted sacred vessels, ornaments for altars and churches, vestments for priests and clerics, relics of the apostles and martyrs, with a large collection of books.—Gregory also sent to Augustine an archiepiscopal pallium, appointing him metropolitan over twelve suffragan bishops. On the conversion of the north, the same dignity, extended to an equal number of bishops, was to be enjoyed and exercised by York; but this last part of the order, on account of future circumstances, was prevented from having full effect.

Other instructions of Gregory related to idols and temples, directing the former to be destroyed, and the latter to be converted into Christian churches, by sprinkling them with holy water, by erecting there altars, and placing relics. In order to draw the people more easily from heathenish riotous festivals, he recommended the celebration of wakes on the anniversary feasts of the dedication of their churches, and on the solemnities of the martyrs.

The number of the labourers being still inadequate to the largeness of the harvest, Augustine endeavoured to associate the Britons in his apostolical ministry. At an assembly convened in Worcestershire on the frontiers of Wales, after the year 601, he solicited the aid of their assistance, and a correction of certain abuses, namely, with respect to the time of celebrating the feast of Easter. Eutreaties were disregarded, and his zeal exerted without success. A public and acknowledged miracle, in the instantaneous cure of a blind person, opened some rays of hope in the following confession: "that the doctrine which Augustine

preached was the truth ; but they could not, without the consent and agreement of their nation, quit their ancient customs." In consequence of this declaration, and at the request of the Britons, a second and more numerous synod was invited. Several British bishops assisted at it, with many learned men, especially of the monastery of Bangor, in Flintshire. Before the time appointed for meeting, they had recourse to the advice of a famous hermit, on the question of admitting the proposals of Augustine. He counselled them to rest the decision on the trifling and casual circumstance of Augustine rising, or not rising, from his seat at their first approach. Through inadvertency, perhaps, in deference to foreign customs observed in public meetings, or for some other similar and unnoticed reason, the compliment of arising was not paid to the punctilious Britons, who thereupon flamed out in anger, charging Augustine with pride, and striving to contradict every thing he said. His request was limited to the three points : *of celebrating Easter at the due time, of conforming*

to the universal church in the rites of baptism, and of assisting him in preaching the word of God to the pagan Saxons. They gave for a final answer, that they would not comply with any of these petitions, nor acknowledge him for their archbishop.

On this occasion Augustine pronounced the following prophecy: "If they would not receive peace from their brethren, they should have war from their enemies; and, if they would not preach to the English the way of life, they should fall by their hands under the judgment of death." It was not till after the death of St. Augustine, that this prediction was fulfilled, and executed by the pagan Saxons of the north, under the command of Ethelfrith, who gave the Britons a dreadful overthrow near Chester, and is said to have slain on that day twelve hundred monks of the above named Bangor.

A brief retrospect is here conceived to be necessary. St. Gregory had bestowed on Augustine a jurisdiction over all the British churches. *Britanniarum vero omnes episcopos*

tua fraternitati committimus. Whence the Britons, as we have just seen, supposed that Augustine meant to abridge the metropolitan powers of St. David's, and subject the churches of Wales to his archiepiscopal see at Canterbury. In this supposition they might, for a while, oppose the measure as being unnecessary, unexpedient, and uncanonical. On the other hand, Gregory might deem it necessary, from a view of the ignorance and barbarity of the Britons, retaining little more than the name of Christians. The charity of Augustine, we may safely venture to say, would have prompted him to beg leave to wave, or even resign this extended dignity, if the Britons had listened to his requests, in which he makes no mention of any authority to be exercised over the churches of Wales. But so implacable, and so unchristian was the hatred of the Britons against the Saxons, as to harden them against the force of an evident miracle, and an adoption of what they had allowed to be truth. However, unity of faith between the contending parties is clearly evinced in the de-

mands of Augustine, turning on two points of discipline only; and in the concession of the Britons, owning that Augustine taught the way of truth. Surely, he never could have entertained the most distant idea of inviting any other than orthodox clergy to join with him in preaching the gospel to the pagan Saxons.

When St. Bede wrote his history, the place of the first conference was called Augustine's oak; the situation of the latter is not marked out. At a later date St. Augustine also held a synod in London, of which the precise year is not determined; nor of the regulations does any thing remain to posterity beside two extracts which appear in the works of St. Boniface, apostle of Germany. One expresses the necessity of naming the three divine persons in the administration of baptism; the other denounces damnation against a violator of the vow of virginity. In support of this second article the scripture is cited, by a manifest reference to the plain, and often quoted text of St. Paul, in his first epistle to Timothy, Chap. v. Ver. 12.

St. Augustine completed his labours, and slept in the Lord on the 26th of May, and probably in the year 604; although the year cannot be ascertained, as the custom of dating from the incarnation was not then introduced into England. His body was deposited in the abbey church of St. Peter and Paul, afterward called St. Augustine's; where likewise lay interred the six succeeding archbishops, Lawrence, Mellitus, Justus, Honorius, Deusdedit, and Theodorus, who are styled in their epitaph, the seven patriarchs of England. The following grateful and expressive inscription was placed over the mortal remains of our apostle: "Here rests D. Augustine, the first Archbishop of Canterbury, who being formerly sent hither by the blessed Gregory, Bishop of the Roman city, and supported of God in the working of miracles, brought over King Ethelbert and his nation, from the worship of idols to the faith of Christ; and, having completed the days of his office in peace, died on the seventh day before the calends of June, in the reign of the same king."

St. Ethelbert, the first of our Saxon legislators, survived St. Augustine about ten years, ever preserving the character of a good and great sovereign, attentive to the happiness and prosperity of his people; for whom he enacted most wholesome laws that were highly esteemed by our ancestors. He abolished the worship of idols throughout his kingdom, shut up their temples, or converted them into Christian churches. His royal palace, in Canterbury, he moreover resigned to the archbishop, founded Christchurch in the same city, St. Andrew's at Rochester, &c. He built and endowed the abbey and church of St. Peter and St. Paul, without the walls of Canterbury, commonly called St. Augustine's, and was instrumental in bringing over other Saxon princes to the faith of Christ. The queen now also seeks to atone for all former faults of omission. She even exerted a zeal, that entitled her to the favour and applause of St. Gregory, who does not hesitate to compare BIRTHA with St. Helen, the first Christian Empress.

Endbald, the son and successor of Ethelbert, did not walk in the ways of his father. He engaged in an incestuous marriage, by taking to his bed the widow of his father, and made a public profession of paganism. Laurence, the Archbishop of Canterbury, after labouring hard, to no purpose, for his conversion, thought of returning into France. But, in the eve of his intended departure, he was severely scourged in a dream by St. Peter, with reproaches for designing to leave that flock for which Christ had laid down his life. This not only prevented his going, but moreover had such an effect upon the king, when he saw the marks of the stripes, that he became a thorough convert, “renouncing his worship of idols, he seriously embraced the faith of Christ; and being baptized, favoured and promoted, in all things, to the utmost of his power, the affairs of the church.”

The joy of Gregory, on the promulgation of the gospel in our island has been noticed above. Boniface the Fifth retains the same language, in a letter to Justus the Fourth, Archbishop

of Canterbury. After the warmest congratulations on the conversion of that city, and other parts, he confirms to him the privileges of his metropolitan see, as established by St. Gregory; and commands a submission to them, by virtue of the authority of Peter, prince of the apostles. Then turning to Canterbury, he cries out: "O happy city, which has received Christ, and expelled the enemy of mankind! Happy that city, and happy is the whole nation, in being visited by those supernal mercies, which were pre-ordained before the creation of the world! Wherefore, God forbid that any Christian should infringe the privileges granted by our predecessor Gregory," &c. The divine source of authority is not less distinctly pointed out by Gregory himself, where he writes: "It is evident, to every one who knows the gospel, that the care of the whole church was committed to the holy and prince of the apostles Peter, by our Lord." The fast of Lent avowedly was primitive, apostolical, and introduced into all countries, together with their conversion to Christianity. Ercombert,

the sixth king of Kent, seconding and supporting the precept of the church, enforced the observance of the fast of Lent, by issuing a royal mandate, and punishing the transgressors. Thus Bede: *jejunium quadraginta dierum observari principali auctoritate præcepit.*

Kent has hitherto occupied our attention. We shall now proceed to the other states, sitting in darkness, and the shadow of death; and briefly relate the means by which they were called to the admirable light of the gospel.

Next to Kent, the East Saxons, occupying Essex, Middlesex, and a part of Hertfordshire, received the word of truth from the instructions of Mellitus; who, for that purpose, had been consecrated Bishop by St. Augustine. At this time the East Saxon sceptre was held by Sebert, nephew to the great Ethelbert. After the receiving of baptism, in which he was imitated by a great number of his subjects, he laid the foundation of the cathedral church of St. Paul in the city of Lon-

don, and of the monastery of St. Peter at Thorney, now called Westminster. But, unfortunately for the people, only imperfectly grounded in the knowledge and the practice of their duties, he terminated his virtuous days of mortality about the year 614. The government was then assumed by his sons, Sexred, Seward, and Sigebert, all three continuing in paganism. They immediately set up the worship of idolatry, and banished Mellitus from his episcopal seat, for resolutely refusing to grant the *bread of life* to these princes, who were not regenerated by the *laver of life*. St. Mellitus, accompanied by Justus, Bishop of Rochester, then equally harassed, retired into France: but, upon the conversion of Eadbald, both were graciously recalled; and both, in succession, filled the metropolitan chair of Canterbury. Death soon put an end to the nefarious triumphs of these three kings. Undertaking a war against the West Saxons, their forces were totally routed, they themselves perishing on the field of battle, after a reign of two years.

Nevertheless, a removal of these obstacles did not restore the state of religion; as the people, once turned to wickedness, could not be recalled to the simplicity of faith and charity, which is in Jesus Christ, before the year 628. Still more effectual measures were taken A. D. 645. Sigebert, the second of that name, then entered into an alliance with Oswic, the Christian King of Northumberland, and was by him induced to abandon idolatry, and revive the cause of Christianity. St. Cedda, the second bishop of London, undertook and accomplished this apostolical charge. One action in particular, expressive of his courage, illustrative of the discipline of the church, and a proof of his supernatural communications, well deserves to be here commemorated. It is thus related by St. Bede. A certain earl, excommunicated for an unlawful marriage, was visited by the king, whom Cedda thereupon menaced in these words: "I tell thee, O king, because thou wouldst not refrain from entering the house of that wicked excommunicated person, thou thyself shalt die in that very

house. And the prediction was verified in the event."

The kingdom of the East Angles contained Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and the Isle of Ely. Some early attempts towards its conversion were made in Kent, where Redwald had been prevailed on to renounce his errors, and receive the sacrament of baptism. But returning to his own state, he was corrupted by his queen, and other instigators. Samaritan like, he mixed the service of God with the worship of idols. Edwin, the Northumbrian monarch, had more effective success, A. D. 632, in convincing Earpwold, the immediate successor of Redwald. But pagan rage very soon took away his life: the crime was perpetrated by the impious Richbart. Sigebert ascended the throne in the year 635. Prior to this date, he had been fully instructed in the faith and law of Christ, during his retreat in France, and baptized by Felix, a native of Burgundy, and of the sacerdotal order. The king proved himself a zealous convert, with ardent affection embracing the light and

life of the gospel; and, to promote the spiritual welfare of his subjects, invited over St. Felix, whose ministry is thus recommended to future ages by venerable Bede. “ By the help of King Sigebert he founded churches, monasteries, and schools; and, in a short time, changed the face of that nation: and, according to the happy omen of his name, brought over the whole province, from its former infelicity and iniquity, to the true faith, to the works of Christian justice, and to the rewards of eternal felicity.”

We now come to the kingdom of Northumberland, comprising the counties of Lancaster, York, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, and that part of Scotland which lies on this side of the Frith. The whole was subdivided into Deira and Bernicia; the former consisting of Yorkshire and Lancashire. At the present juncture, Edwin had exalted his kingdom to the summit of power, by subduing the vicinal tribes of the Britons, Saxons, Scots, or Picts; and moreover, by extending his conquests to the Or-

cares and Hebrides Islands, which he added to his own hereditary dominions. In these circumstances was Edwin, when his first wife died. Fame making him acquainted with the admirable qualities of Ethelburga, daughter of the first Christian king, he sent a deputation to her brother Edbald, King of Kent, to demand her in marriage. They replied, that a Christian virgin could not be permitted to marry a pagan sovereign. Matters, however, were adjusted to their satisfaction.

Edwin engaged to avoid every thing inimical to the Christian doctrine, and allow a free and full exercise of religion to the queen and all her attendants; at the same time insinuating his own intention of embracing it, if, upon examination, it should be found more holy, and worthy of God. These stipulations were drawn up in the year 625. Upon which occasion Paulinus received episcopal consecration, and was directed to conduct the princess to the northern monarch, with an apparent view of doing honour to the future nuptials. But the real design, which the bishop

had in charge, was to confirm the queen and her companions, by the means of assiduous instruction, and by a celebration of the heavenly sacraments. His mind was also inflamed with most ardent desires of imparting to the whole nation the blessings of heavenly peace.

After many conferences, followed by long and mature deliberations ; after repeated marks of divine protection, still further enforced by the pious example of Ethelburga, and the behaviour of Coifi, the chief priest, who destroyed the idols publicly with his own hands ; after, I say, all these powerful inducements, Paulinus had the happiness to see Edwin, on the elapement of two years, fully disabused of all the errors of the understanding, and purified from the depraved affections of the heart. During the time appointed for receiving instructions preparatory to baptism, he raised a temporary church of timber at York. He there received the sacrament of regeneration on Easter Sunday, in the year of our Lord 627. With him were baptized many citizens

of York, all his household, and, not long after, infinite numbers of his subjects, whom he continued to edify by an exemplary piety. On his administration, I shall only observe, that it may be said to rival, in regularity and beauty, the brightest of the Saxon reigns. Happy would it have been for his people, if a continuation of it had been answerable to their wishes. But, to their great and sincere sorrow, he was overpowered and slain, in the year 633, by the united forces of Cadwaller and Penda, an implacable enemy to the Christian name; who, in a reign of almost thirty years, had killed not fewer than five Christian kings.

The very next year, consequent upon the death of St. Edwin, ushered in disasters marked with such aggravations of horror and infamy, as to put the Northumbrian registerers upon endeavouring, by common consent, to blot out the memory, and suppress the names of Eanfic and Osric. These two princes had taken refuge in Scotland, where they were converted to the Christian faith. On the de-

cease of Edwin, the latter assumed the government of Deira: the former was created King of Bernicia. Their promotion was followed by apostacy, and profession of idolatry. Heavy judgments quickly fell upon their guilty heads. For Cadwaller, a Welch king, in conjunction with the pagan Penda, having lately gained a victory over Northumbria, now repeat their ravages; slay Osric in battle, and take away the life of Eanfrid, by treachery. Nothing but immediate ruin, with every accumulation of woe, now impended upon the whole kingdom, from the fury of an enormous army, under the will and at the beck of a ferocious savage, rather than a conqueror; who, as Bede observes, was not a pagan, but worse than a pagan; for he was a barbarian. The Lord of hosts, who does not always give victory to the strong, here interposed in favour of a hopeless and deserted people. Oswald, their king, is inspired with courage to assert the cause of his country; and his little army, strengthened by the faith of Christ, obtains a complete and decisive victory at Denis-burn,

or brook of Denis. On the eve of the ^{dispute} desperate and unequal contest, Oswald gave orders to erect a great cross; before which the king and his army prostrated, in compliance with his command delivered in these words, "Let us all kneel down, and join in prayer to the Almighty, living and true God; that in his mercy he would deliver us from our proud and ferocious enemy; because he knows we are engaged in a just war, for the safety of our nation." Bede then continues: "The place in the English tongue is called Heavenfield, which name it received of old as a certain presage of things to come; denoting that the heavenly trophy should be there erected, a heavenly victory begun, and heavenly miracles continue to this day." It lay near the Roman wall, on the northern side, and now bears the name of Hal-
lington.

St. Oswald, thus in quiet and secure possession of his kingdom, applied for a bishop to the Scots, among whom in his banishment he had learned Christianity. They sent him St. Aidan, at whose request the king fixed his

see in the Isle of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island. He was succeeded by St. Finan and St. Colman. Colman returned to his native country; and Juda, his successor, dying soon after, Wilfrid was appointed to the extensive charge, with a residence at York. The pious king is sometimes styled Emperor of all Britain, by reason of the sway he bore over the other states; yet readily condescended (if instructing others into justice may be called condescension) to assist the Scottish clergy, as interpreter, in expounding the mysteries of faith to his Saxon subjects. Very frequently he prolonged his prayers from midnight matins, to which he arose with the monks, till the break of day. Could any of his people find the least shelter for sloth or indolence, while they had such a model of heroic piety before their eyes? Example is the most powerful, and most eloquent of all persuasives.

Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Wilts, Hampshire, and Berkshire, constituted the West Saxon government. Let us hear venerable Bede. "The nation of the West Saxons

embraced the faith of Christ in the reign of King Cynegils, Birinus the bishop preaching the word to them, who came into Britain by the advice of Pope Honorius. He had promised, in his presence, to sow the seed of the holy faith in the remoter parts of the English dominions, not yet visited by any teacher. With this intent he received episcopal consecration from Asterius Bishop of Genoa, agreeably to the commands of the said Pope. But, on landing in Britain, he first entered the nation of the West Saxons, whom he found to be all pagans. This consideration determined him to preach the word there, rather than go in search of other people. He preached therefore the gospel in that province, and the king himself, being instructed, was washed, together with his people, in the baptismal font." The following miracle is related by Malmesbury, Brompton, and such a number of writers, that even Fox, the conglomerator of the lying *acts and monuments*, at last did not dare to deny the truth of the relation respecting Birinus, that is, his walking on the sea to recover the

forgotten sacred linen, or corporals, which had been given him by the Pope.

Cynegils co-operated with his clergy in promoting the cause of virtue and religion, and was afterwards imitated, or even surpassed, by the renowned Ina, being at once recommendable by valour, by legislative abilities, and by piety. An inventory of his benefactions to the chapel of Glastenbury has reached our days. This place became a celebrated hermitage among the old Britons, and the burying ground of their kings, where Prince Arthur lay interred, with the following inscription on a leaden cross. “Here lies buried the famous King Arthur in the Isle of Avalon.” St. David, patron of Wales, preserved the memory of early favours by building there a chapel; to which Ina makes munificent donations, in the year 688. For the erecting of an altar, he gave two hundred and sixty-four pounds weight of gold. The chalice and paten had ten pounds of gold; the images of our Lord, St. Mary, and the twelve apostles, one hundred and seventy-five pounds of silver, and thirty-eight

of gold. Other sacred vessels and ornaments were executed in a similar style of magnificence. Thus Ina, emulating the religious kings of both the new and old law, loved the beauty of the house of the Lord ; and by the external aid of sacred images (which would be altogether unnecessary, if man consisted of spirit alone) furnished the unlettered with books, the learned with reviving memorials, and every one with animated exhortations to *avoid evil*, and *do good*.

Mercia took in the seventeen counties of Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester, Warwick, Leicester, Rutland, Northampton, Lincoln, Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham, Oxford, Stafford, Derby, Salop, Nottingham, Chester, and a part of Hertfordshire. Peada being appointed, by his father Penda, governor of a division in Mercia, sent proposals of marriage to Alflæda, the daughter of Oswic, king of the Northumbers. In reply to which it was told him, that the faith and baptism of Christ, embraced by himself and his people, were previous and indispensable preliminaries, to be ratified be-

fore such an engagement could be admitted. Upon this declaration he became willing to hear the sacred truths of Christianity, which he embraced from full conviction, as he himself then attested; and the sincerity of his attestation was placed above all question, by the exemplarity of his future conduct in every stage of life, whether private or public. But within little more than two years from the death of his father, he was treacherously murdered; and, if report may be credited, at the instigation of his own queen, Alefleda, A. D. 650. However, his conversion proved an introduction to the propagation of the gospel over the whole Mercian kingdom, which was effected principally by Scottish missionaries, under the direction of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The town of Stone received this name from the great heap of stones, that were laid over the tombs of S. S. Wulfhad and Ruffin, two Mercian princes, who suffered death for religion about the year 670.

Edilwald, King of the South Saxons, inhabiting Sussex and Surry, was baptized about

the year 660, in the Mercian province, by the persuasion and in the presence of Wulfere, who received him at the font in quality of sponsor or godfather: but a conversion of the nation was effected by the celebrated Wilfrid, who likewise delivered the Isle of Wight from the darkness of paganism by the ministry of his preachers.

This brings us down to the time of a total extirpation of idolatry, the gospel of peace being now planted in all the Saxon provinces. What was the situation of the pagan Saxons? It is accurately thus depicted by Alban Butler, in his *Life of St. Austin*: "The English were a barbarous nation; ambitious, avaricious, fierce, perfidious, and utter strangers to the very names of sciences and the liberal arts. When they came first into Britain, they seem not to have known the use of letters, but to have borrowed their first alphabet from the Irish. The Northumbrians, according to Malmesbury, sold their own children for slaves, surpassing in barbarity and fierceness the ne-

groes of this day ; but, receiving readily the holy faith, they became at once new men, meek, patient, humble, chaste, mortified—in a word, a church of saints.”

Learning and ecclesiastical discipline kept pace with the progress in piety ; both were rapidly advanced under the guidance of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury.

He was a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, and in a station no higher than that of a private monk in Rome at the time of his election. Not long after his arrival at the appointed seat, he solicited and obtained from Vitalian, then presiding in the papal chair, a confirmation of jurisdiction over all the churches of Britain. Neither his advanced age, nor other unavoidable difficulties, could deter him from undertaking a general visitation of England ; which owes to him, it is commonly said, its division into parishes. In the course of this visit, and on other occasions, he imposed his hands on many eminent saints. On Erconwald, Bishop of London ; Hedda, of Winchester ; Eata and John,

of Beverley, for Hexham; Bosa, to York; Cuthbert, to Lindisfarne; Triumwine, for the Picts; Bosel, for Worcester, &c.

“Never before,” Bede remarks, “were known such happy days in England; whilst her brave and Christian kings struck a terror into barbarous nations, and the wishes of all were directed to the newly-learned joys of a heavenly kingdom, Such as desired to be instructed in sacred learning, readily found masters; and the use of singing, hitherto confined to Theut, began to be adopted in all the churches.”

In the year 673, Theodore presided in the council of Herndford, supposed to be the present Thetford. After a general exhortation to preserve the charity and the unity of the church, for the fear and love of our Redeemer, he inquired of each member in particular, according to their rank, if they were willing to observe the ancient canonical decrees of the fathers. Their answer was in the affirmative, and accompanied with alacrity and applause; upon which, the metropolitan produced a book

of canons, out of which he had selected ten articles, the most proper, in his judgment, for the present circumstances. The first regards the time for celebrating the feast of Easter; the second confines bishops to their own dioceses; the third forbids them to disturb or injure monasteries; the fourth and fifth condemn monks and clerics, who leave their own houses or parishes without the permission of their respective superiors. By the sixth, itinerant bishops and clerics are ordered to content themselves with the benefit of hospitality, without presuming to exercise any sacerdotal function, unless by the leave of the residing bishop. The seventh enjoins the holding of an annual synod, on the 1st of August, at Cloveshoe, now Abingdon, in Berkshire. In the eighth, bishops are directed to take their seats according to the time and order of their consecration. The ninth treats of an increase of bishoprics, where, however, he subjoins: "On this subject we are silent for the present." The tenth and last article speaks of the married state, and forbids husbands and wives to leave each other, ex-

cept on account of adultery; and even in that case the parties must remain sole, or be reconciled.

Five years later he called a synod of venerable priests and many teachers to Hatfield, in Hertfordshire, in order to guard against all infection from the monothelite heresy, at that time disturbing Constantinople. Upon being interrogated singly and separately, he found them unanimous in the profession of the Catholic faith. They then briefly expound the principal articles of Christian doctrine, as delivered by the successive councils of the church: “We receive the five holy and general councils—and the council held at Rome in the time of Martin the Pope—and we all subscribe.”

His penitential, or book of canons respecting penance, was the first work of the kind composed in the western church, and served as a model for other bishops in foreign countries, as well as in our own. This circumstance, so honourable to the author, has deprived the public of all opportunities of consulting the original work, free from the additions that

have been made by subsequent bishops and churches. He died on the 19th day of December, having been archbishop twenty-two years. Before his last sickness he requested Wilfrid (Malmesbury styles them the two eyes of Britain) to meet him at London, in the company of Erkenwold its bishop, where he confessed to the former all the actions of his life, and made the following declaration: "The greatest remorse that I feel is, that I consented with the king to deprive you of your possessions, without any fault on your part." In these words our learned and virtuous metropolitan refers to a lengthened contest, which we must strive to unfold, after having taken a cursory view of the earlier days of Wilfrid, one of the brightest lights of the Saxon church.

He was born in Northumbria, about the year 634, and learned the first rudiments of literature in the monastery of Lindisfarne. In search of greater improvement, he undertook a journey to Rome; and, on his way home, spent three years with St. Delphinus, Archbishop of Lyons, who gave him the ecclesiastical tenure.

Being arrived at his native country, Alefrid, King of Deira, bestowed on him a certain portion of land at Rippon. Conformably with the intention of the donor, he there built and governed a monastery; in which sacred asylum he received the order of priesthood, A. D. 663. In the following year he was appointed chief disputant at the council of Whitby, convened for the purpose of effecting an uniformity between the Saxon and Scottish churches as to the time of celebrating the feast of Easter.

But, before we proceed, the reader should have a statement of this controversy. It is concisely thus laid before him.

In the first place, it must be observed, that the schismatical Asiatics kept the feast always with the Jews on the fourteenth day of the first lunar month after the vernal equinox, on whatever day of the week it fell. Those were heretics who grounded this practice on the false and heretical principle, that the Jewish ceremonial laws were binding for Christians, and not abolished, though fulfilled by the coming of Christ. The rest, on account of their sepa-

ration from the church, and obstinate refusal of submission to her decrees and censures, were, after the councils of Arles and Nice, schismatics, and denominated quartodecimans. These two sects celebrated Easter always with the Jews on the fourteenth day. The practice of the Britons differed widely, as they always kept the feast on a Sunday. This erroneous method of the Britons, Scots, and Irish, was not schismatical; neither did they lie under any censure. The date of their faulty rule, though unascertained, cannot be carried up to a high point of time; for it is well known that the Britons assisted at the council of Arles, A.D. 314, and at that of Nice, A.D. 325; in which same year the Emperor Constantine reckoned the Britons in the number of those who agreed with Rome in the celebration of the Easter solemnity.

In the above-named synod of Whitby, St. Colman, Bishop of Lindisfarne, and St. Wilfrid, were the leading antagonists. The question underwent a thorough examination: the arguments on each side may be seen in the his-

tory of Bede, and not necessary to be here repeated. I shall therefore only observe, that the convincing learning of Wilfrid so far prevailed as to induce the king, with his subjects, to embrace the legitimate method. Ireland imitated their example soon after the year 686. Some of the Britons also conformed at the same time; others were brought over by Adamnus and Aldhelm; yet a total union was not effectuated even in the year 730. Scotland, of which a part had fallen into the error, enforced an observation of the just calculation, A. D. 716.

On the side of the Britons, the contest was accompanied with flagrant instances of rancour and malevolence; they would no more hold communion with their opponents than with pagans. A certain company of them carried their hatred to such an excess, as to refuse to sit at the same table, or lodge in the same house with the Roman clergy, notwithstanding the mild and Christian behaviour of the latter. These, it is obvious, lay under a necessity of striving to rectify the mistakes of the Britons;

but the performance of such a duty ought to have been considered as an act of benevolence, like that of kindly pointing out the right way to a wandering traveller. Eddius applies to them the term of schismatic, and says that Wilfrid was unwilling to receive from their hands episcopal consecration. They might indeed, in some sense, be named schismatics, inasmuch as they did not perfectly agree with the observance of the church; but are by no means to be numbered among the condemned quartodecimans. Wilfrid also might justly be unwilling to receive consecration by the hands of persons whom he judged to be in a state of sin. Hence he expresses himself with theological precision, when he tells them that they could not be exempted from sin (*peccatis, ye sin*), if they persisted in their error after the arguments and evidences which had been set before them at Whitby. At the same time, he apologizes for their predecessors. In like manner, venerable Bede, a strenuous advocate for ecclesiastical uniformity, highly commends and extols the virtues of St. Aidan, St. Finton,

and St. Colman, and others of the Scottish party, who had suffered themselves to be guided by the aforesaid erroneous rule. To which we may add a litany of the saints, compiled in the same seventh century, and written in semi-Saxon characters, where the British saints are invoked together, with a petition for the preservation of the clergy and people of England, *ut clerum et plebem Anglorum conservare digneris*. The form of this ancient litany, which was discovered and published by Dan. Mabillon, is perfectly in accord with our present manuals, and expresses particular veneration and devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary, by a repetition of her name, in the following manner. After the Kyrie eleison, &c. they say,

Sancta Maria or,

Sancta Maria or,

Sancta Maria or,

Again, at the head of the prayers, to implore the intercession of virgins, they prefix,

Sancta Maria, I. I. I. ora pro nobis.

This liturgy, whether used by Britons or

Saxons, is a precious monument of sacred antiquity, evinces a certain degree of harmony subsisting between the two nations, and its peculiar devotion to the mother of God, the queen of all saints. Her praises were sung by the Saxon poets; by their preachers her prerogatives were extolled; and the principal incidents of her life were annually commemorated by the four solemn festivals of the Nativity, the Annunciation, the Purification, and the Assumption. Bede informs us, that a hymn in her honour was sung every evening. In their books of the divine office are preserved the same hymns as occur at present in the Roman Breviary. Egbert, in his Pontifical, enumerates the books, with which every clergyman was to be provided. Psalterium, lectionarium, antiphonarium, missale, baptisterium, martyrologium, cum anno circuli, ad prædicationem in bonis operibus, et compositum cum cyclo, hoc est jus sacerdotum, præterea autem penitentialem.

In future ages, the horrors of war continued to rage between England and Wales;

yet it has justly been observed, that any difference in religion was never once even so much as insinuated. St. Caradoc priest and hermit, who died, as he had foretold, on Low Sunday, the 13th of April, in the year 1124, is the most recent Welch saint. The best known and most celebrated, is the glorious virgin and martyr, St. Winefride, who lived either in this seventh, or in the immediately succeeding century. She was the daughter of Therith, one of the prime nobility of North Wales. Her virtuous parents placed her in her infancy at the feet of St. Beuno, while he was preaching to the people. There her tender soul imbibed the consolations of his heavenly doctrine, being wonderfully affected by the great truths which he delivered. At first she made a private vow of virginity in the hands of St. Beuno; and, some time after, received from him the religious veil, with other pious virgins, in a small nunnery which her father had built for her, near Holy-Well. Flying from the brutal lust of Cradoc, she was overtaken by this furious prince, who cut off her head.

Robert of Shrewsbury, and some others add, that Cradoc was swallowed up by the earth upon the spot; that in the place where the head fell, the wonderful well sprang up; that the martyr was raised to life by the prayers of St. Beuno, and ever after bore the mark of her martyrdom by a red circle on her skin about her neck. These writers lived long after the death of St. Winifrede, and, on the foregoing circumstances, possibly might have been led into some mistakes; which, however, cannot, in the least, lay open to censure the sanctity of the virgin, her martyrdom, or the devotion of the place, which has been a famous pilgrimage for many ages. Innumerable miraculous cures have been wrought there in favour of both Catholics and Protestants, and followed by the conversion of the latter to the Catholic faith, and by other Protestants, convinced by the most authentic attestations. These miracles and conversions have mercifully been perpetuated down to the present days. To those who make it a matter of surprise to find miracles more frequent in parti-

cular places, we may answer in the words of St. Augustine, doctor of the Church; "God, who created all things, is in all places, and is every where to be adored in spirit and truth. But who can explore the holy order of his providence, in dispensing his gifts, why these miracles should be done in some places, and not in others? The sanctity of the place where the body of the blessed Felix of Nola is buried, is well known. And we ourselves knew the like at Milan. All the saints have not the gift of healing, nor the discernment of spirits: so neither does it please Him who distributes his gifts according to his holy will, that such things be performed in all the memories, or chapels, of the saints." This short digression is here inserted for the satisfaction of the Protestants, as well as of Catholics; both having obtained at Holy-Well, through the intercession of St. Winefride, temporal benefits and spiritual blessings. Let us now return, and close the conference of Whitby.

A second question, given in for matter of debate, was the form of the ecclesiastical ton-

sure. It is not likely that tonsures were used in the primitive persecuting ages. Their origin must be referred to the fourth or fifth century, as marks of a person consecrated to the service of God, and in imitation of the crown of thorns of our Lord. In Britain they were of two sorts. The one circular, called the tonsure of St. Peter; the other in the shape of a semicircle, to which its enemies by derision gave the name of the tonsure of Simon Magus. But this question, seemingly, was overlooked as a matter of lesser importance, even in the opinion of persons writing against the tonsure of Simon Magus. Thus the abbot Ceolfrid, in his letter to the King of the Picts, strongly urges him to an uniformity in this point; yet owns, that the modes of forming the tonsure vary in the Catholic church. On account of such varieties, he subjoins, persons are not to be condemned, provided by faith and works they promote Catholic unity.

At the breaking up of the synod, St Colman notified his intention of consulting with his brethren, the monks of Tona, to whom

he retired. Tuda, the successor, soon after died of a pestilence. Wilfrid took possession of the see of York, and the superintendence of Northumbria, A. D. 669. He was indefatigable in the discharge of his pastoral office; settled the monastic state on the same footing that had been established by St. Augustine; and introduced into all the churches of the north, the Gregorian note, or plain song, till that time limited to Kent. After a series of ten laborious years, a violent persecution was raised against him; which originated in a condescension to the request of St. Audry, the Northumbrian queen.

According to the constant tradition of the church, in the marriage engagements there is included a provision which permits either party, previous to cohabitation, to embrace a religious life. Audry, married to Egfrid, King of Northumbria, being desirous of using this privilege, was at first dissuaded by Wilfrid; but finding her inflexible in her resolution, he consented to give her the sacred veil. The new queen, Ermenburga, reproved by our holy

prelate for her disorderly conduct, in conjunction with Egfrid and others, prevailed on Theodore, the archbishop, to parcel the diocese of York, *inconsulto Wilfrido, absque consensu cujuslibet episcopi*, first into three, and afterwards into five bishoprics. Wilfrid easily saw the irregularity of the proceeding; but, without raising any disturbance, entered his protest, and made an appeal to the Pope. To the parasitical courtiers, laughing at him thus under a sentence of condemnation, *ridentibus ad meam pro invidiâ condemnationem*, he said, "On this day twelvemonth you will change your tone." The event corresponded. For Elfwin, the brother of the king, was slain in battle by the Mercians, and his body brought into the city, to the great lamentation of the court, on the anniversary of that day.

Wilfrid set out for Rome; and Theodore, the appellee, sent a messenger with letters of justification. Wilfrid presented his petition to the Pope in council, where it was definitively decreed, that he should be restored to his bishopric. And indeed the measures, taken by

Theodore, were evidently informal and injurious in several respects. If a division of the diocese were necessary, it should have been made in a full provincial council, with the intervention of the Pope in the west ; and, in the east, with the concurrence of the respective patriarch. Moreover, Wilfrid should have been left in the possession of his original seat at York.

At his return to England, he presented to the king the sealed letters of the Pope. Upon reading and finding the contents unfavourable to themselves, Wilfrid was accused of having obtained them by bribery, and then plundered and cast into prison. It was not till after nine months that he was released. " By reason of the enmity of the aforesaid king," Bede observes, " he could not be received in his own country or diocese ; but he would not be restrained from exercising the ministry of the gospel." He thereupon repaired to the South Saxons, and converted the whole nation, with the priests, of their idols. At length, Theodore endeavoured to repair past injuries, wrote to

King Alcfrid, the successor of the deceased Egfrid, and to others; who, in compliance with his solicitations, restored Wilfrid to a possession of the episcopal see at York, &c. Friedegodus, an English monk of the tenth century, thus portrays the harmony that then reigned between princes and prelates, and the happiness of the people living under the shield of an equitable administration.

Anglum tum gemina fulgebat lampade regnum:

Pontifices regis consulta digna gerebant,

Rex quoque pontificibus eatria servibat honora:

Summa quies plebi legalia jura teneuti.

Not more than five years of tranquillity had elapsed, when King Alcfrid plundered the monastery of Rippon, and thought of erecting there a bishopric. Wilfrid opposed the project. Thence being once more obliged to leave the country, he resorted to Ethelred King of Mercia, at whose request he undertook the government of the vacant see of Lichfield. But understanding that his enemies in Northumbria had gained over Brithwald, Archbishop of Canterbury, and were soliciting a sentence of de-

position against him, he appealed a second time to the Pope, and undertook a second journey to Rome, A. D. 703. His adversaries sent deputies to Rome, to appear as the accusers of Wilfrid. The sentence, as before, was in favour of the bishop. Brithwald readily complies with the injunctions, apostolicâ auctoritate coactus. At first, Alcfrid also appeared inclined to make a like submission; but afterwards hearkening to envious counsellors, said that he would not alter a determination approved by almost all the bishops in England, and by an archbishop who had been sent by the apostolic see. At the same time he insinuates that the letters of the Pope were not genuine, propter apostolicæ sedis (ut dicitis) scripta. This king died the next year, 705; and, in his last sickness, retracted his former injurious protestations, with all the signs of sincere repentance. Vere pœnituit.

On the accession of Oned, his son and successor, restitution was willingly granted by the whole kingdom. Wilfrid, now advanced in years, and exhausted by a long series of hard-

ships, proposed a compromise, agreed to by the Pope; in consequence of which he took possession of the monasteries of Hexham and Rippon, spending in peace the four remaining years of his mortal life. He ended his days on the 24th of April, A. D. 709. “Envy,” says Alban Butler, “died with him; and immediately the whole world gave due praise to the purity of his intentions, the order of his zeal for virtue and discipline, and the sanctity of his life.” With undaunted courage he supported the rights of his see, and of the church; but, in the spirit of meekness, never reviling his most inveterate enemies. Far from seeking places of preferment, his humility made him refuse the bishopric of the Mercians, and decline the metropolitan see of Canterbury, when pressed upon him by Theodore. He knew no other use of riches than that of promoting the cause of God, or relieving the wants of the indigent. By following the course of this contest, the judicious reader will easily perceive, that the legality of appeals was admitted by the two archbishops, Theodore and Brithwald.

They both sent deputies to Rome, to justify their decisions. Nor is it less evident, that justice was done to Wilfrid in virtue of papal mandates. Theodore grounds his retraction on the apostolica auctoritas. The same is the motive assigned by Brithwald. And John, the sixth Pope of that name, is equally explicit, *decretis pontificalibus obsecutus erat.*

The zeal of Wilfrid was not limited to Northumbria, Mercia, Sussex, and the Isle of Wight: it extended most beneficially even to Frizeland. For, in his first appealing voyage, being carried by contrary winds to that coast, he was moved to compassion at the spiritual blindness and idolatry of the inhabitants. By preaching to them the faith, he converted and baptized many thousands of the people, as also several lords of the country. To this day, with good and great reason, he is there honoured as their apostle.

Inclination, as well as duty, here draws our attention to the school of Canterbury, a fertile source of divine and human learning, under the direction of Theodore the archbishop, and

Adrian the abbot of St. Austin's, by birth an African. Out of humility he earnestly declined the metropolitan dignity, but willingly accompanied Theodore in quality of assistant, and dedicated the nine-and-thirty remaining years of his life to the service of our country. Success bore a due proportion to the able exertions of the two patrons. Their scholars were exceedingly numerous, and well conversant in every department of literature, whether sacred or profane. Many of them, St. Bede informs us, had made such proficiency in the Latin and Greek languages, as to be capable of speaking them with the same facility as their native tongue. Aldhelm, a near kinsman of the renowned King Ina, frequented this nursery. After having governed and improved the monastery of Malmesbury for the space of thirty years, he was installed the first Bishop of Shirburn. He is also the first of our nation who obtained the titles of father and doctor of the church, and the first introducer of Latin and English poetry among our Saxon ancestors. A specimen may be seen in his

principal work, “A Treatise on the Praise of Virginity.” In which are inserted, at length, the just and high commendations bestowed on that angelical virtue by St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and other primitive authors. A similar work had been composed by St. Clement, the disciple and successor of St. Peter; a clear demonstration, if any could be wanted, of the doctrine of St. Paul on that subject. Two English pontificals, copied in the eighth century, contain the form of benediction to be pronounced at the time of profession. It is this: “May the creator of heaven and earth, God the father almighty, who has vouchsafed to choose you, in imitation of holy Mary, the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, grant you his blessing to preserve intire and immaculate the virginity, which you have professed in the presence of God and his angels.”

Within the same years the north made improvements in architecture, and began to learn the useful and agreeable art of manufacturing glass for windows, till then unpractised and unknown in the island. For this they were

indebted to St. Bennet Biscop, who brought over glaziers from France. Northern learning also kept pace with that of the south, by the studious labours of the same saint; and by other much respected and highly commendable concurrents. His collection of books comprised a great variety of volumes, procured in his five journeys to Rome. Bede very neatly paints the pious alacrity with which Ceolfrid, his immediate successor, entered upon his journey to Rome. *Transit flumen, crucem adorat, ascendit equum.* Another library, still more extraordinary, was formed at York. It contained copies of the Hebrew scriptures, the fathers, the Greek and Roman writers; in that it was the most extensive repository any where, at that time, to be found in Europe.

In the number of our other prelates, hitherto either unnamed, or but slightly noticed, St. Egwin, Bishop of Worcester, opposed the vices of the powerful with undaunted courage and persevering constancy. St. Cuthbert, the Thaumaturgus of the north, preserved a cheerful heart and countenance in the midst of

many severe trials. St. Bede, who lived near him both as to time and place, commemorates his tender compassion for penitents confessing to him their secret sins ; and his constant tears of devotion in celebrating the divine mysteries, and saying mass. St. Chad is entitled to special remembrance, for having exerted an unceasing zeal in his exhortations to the rude Mercians. “ No sooner was he consecrated bishop,” says the same St. Bede, “ than he zealously devoted himself to the ecclesiastical truth and purity ; applying himself to humility, mortification, and spiritual reading ; visiting his diocese, not on horseback, but, after the manner of the apostles, on foot ; preaching the gospel, and seeking after souls, not only in towns, castles, and villages, but even in the meanest cottages, and in the fields.” St. Honorius, Archbishop of Canterbury, was sublimely learned in ecclesiastical matters. On the other hand, St. Hedda, the first Bishop of Winchester, instructed more by a love of virtue and piety engrafted in his mind, than by the force of study and learning, that no flesh

might glory in the sight of the Lord. The gifts of God thus varied in his saints; but they had it in common to shew themselves examples of good works, by giving their prayers and tears, their days and nights, to the care of their flocks. Eminently great has been the veneration for St. Erkenwold, the fourth Bishop of London; so great as to defeat the attacks of time and of malice, according to a deposition made by Sir William Dugdale, who does not hesitate to pronounce, that "neither the course of a thousand years, nor the voracious flames which in vain attempted, nor the fury of the people when faith was quite lost, could ever efface the memory of Erkenwold."

The same light of faith shone forth with great lustre in the words and works of St. Peter, the first abbot of the first monastery founded by the Saxons, commonly called St. Austin's. Meanwhile, the northern provinces were renewed and illustrated by the piety and learning of St. Bennet Biscop, St. Sigfrid, St. Cerlfrid, and the great virtues and prophetic spirit of St. Boisil, the prior of Mailros. He-

remetical perfection was practised by St. Guthelake in the desart of Croyland, St. Herebert at the source of the Derwent, and St. Edilward in the Isle of France. But why do I thus dwell on particular names, and single individuals? A more satisfactory view may be exhibited, even in an incomplete catalogue of religious houses, brighter than the stars of the firmament, that were erected within the period now under inspection. I shall collect it from the church history of Cressy, and put it into an alphabetical order. Most people will find places lying within the compass of their *same* hearing, if not of their familiar acquaintance.

The names are as follow: Abbonbury—Abindon. By the rule of this house, A. D. 675, “no one was allowed to go out of doors, unless for the greatest necessity or utility of the monastery, and then not without the leave of the abbot; they slept upon haircloth; never ate flesh meat but in the greatest infirmity.”—Adeling—Beardanam—Barking—Boston—Canterbury, two—Chertsey—Cnobberburg—Coldingham—Cotham—Dormismud—Dover—Ebb-

chester—Ely, two; one for monks, the other for nuns. The first three abbesses were queens, and all three saints; in the sentiments of the royal prophet, valuing one day of devotion above a thousand years of a worldly life—Estrey—Folkeston, the first English nunnery, founded in the year 630. In the infancy of the Saxon church several English princesses crossed the seas, to sacrifice at the feet of the altars the pomp and riches which awaited them on thrones. Many retired to the truly royal nunnery of Chelles, situated near the Marne, four leagues above Paris, which was refounded by St. Bathildes, Queen of France, her extraordinary endowments having raised her to that dignity. She was English, carried over very young into France, and sold for a slave to Erkenwold, afterwards mayor of the palace. Her virtues and talents became known to King Clovis, who took her for his royal consort. After his death, in quality of regent for her sons, she governed the kingdom with admirable wisdom, forbade Christians to be made slaves, banished Simony, and supplied France with

hospitals and pious foundations. So soon as Clothaire was of an age, that enabled him to take the reins into his own hands, she obtained, not without great difficulty, the consent of the princes to be allowed to satisfy her long desire of shutting herself up in the aforesaid abbey of Chelles, where she terminated a virtuous life by a happy death.—Gilling—Girum—Glastenbury—Goutshead—Hanbury—Helnestow—Heartsig—Hexham—Hor—Ithancester—Leinster—Lestinghen—Liming—Lindisfarne—Malmesbury—Menstrey—Nutcell—St. Osith's—Oundale—Oxford—Peterborough—Perutenet—Reculver—Readford—Rippun—Rochester—Seleseey—Shepey—Stamford—Tadcaster—Thoney—Tilbury—Trickhingham—Tunnacester—Wakering—Wedun—Wenlac—Weremouth—Whitby—Wilgis—Winchester—Womalet.

Men joyfully formed themselves into societies around these sacred buildings, where they found relief against pernicious poverty, and asylums to screen them from the oppressive

tyranny of temporal lords and masters. The more so, as their credit and authority were supported by the presence of the most illustrious personages. The rich, the noble, princes and princesses, learned to forsake all worldly allurements, and place their happiness, where alone it is truly to be found, in the beatitudes of the gospel. Within two hundred years from the arrival of St. Augustine, the editor of our Monasticon, reckons thirty kings or queens (the kings had worthy successors), who exchanged their crowns and sceptres of temporal peace and prosperity, for the sweet and humble yoke of a religious life. "Our island," I willingly repeat the reflections of Alban Butler, "our island once saw the happy days, when prayer and contemplation were the delight even of courts, the camp, and the shop; when Christian humility and true poverty of spirit sat on the thrones of kings, chastity flourished in palaces, and princes had no other interest of state but the glory of God, no other ambition than to dilate his kingdom, nor any

greater happiness than to espouse their daughters to Christ crucified, in the rigours of solitude and severe penance."

Thus endeavouring, with success, to promote a profession and practice of the evangelical counsels; they did not overlook the more essential duties of providing the people with pastors, by erecting episcopal sees in the different parts of the kingdom. Canterbury and York have frequently been mentioned. At London a bishopric was founded, A. D. 604. At Rochester, in the same year. Dorchester and Lindisfarne, A. D. 635. In the year 636, a bishop was appointed for the East Angles; but in 673 the see was divided into two bishoprics, the one being fixed at Elmham, the other at Dunwich. Lichfield, A. D. 656. The seat of West Saxon bishops was a few years at Dorchester on the Thames, and thence translated to Winchester, A. D. 660. Hexham and Sidnacester, in 678. Hereford and Worcester, 680. Selsey, 681. That of Shirburn was erected three or four years below the age now under review—the seventh century, the golden

age of England; to which I have endeavoured to pay a small, but not unacceptable tribute: it contains the riches of the will.

EIGHTH CENTURY.

IT is easy to represent to ourselves a succession of archbishops, bishops, of the inferior clergy, monks, nuns, and a virtuous laity, with a good and perfect heart bringing forth fruit in patience. To strengthen and extend the good order, as well as to repair injuries, and redress certain grievances, like tares mixed with the good corn, several councils were convened, in conformity with the rule laid down by St. Theodore, the archbishop. Two met near the River Nidd, on the dispute with St. Wilfrid, A. D. 701 and 705. In the last-mentioned year, a Mercian synod deputed Aldhelm to write a refutation of the British method of solemnizing Easter. In the same year a third assembled at Adderbourn, near the

Naddre, of which the name only has reached our days. By a fourth, composed of Ina and his clergy, the West Saxon kingdom was divided into two bishoprics. On account of a sedition, happily suppressed, the same king called another council: the year is not marked. St. Egwin, Bishop of Worcester, on being expelled for his zeal in reprimanding offenders, twice went to Rome, celebrated mass in the presence of the Pope, and procured privileges for the abbey of Evesham; which were confirmed in a synod at Aulcester, in Worcestershire, A. D. 709. The monastery of Wedian-dun sought to recover an estranged or purloined charter, by the interference of a synod at Worcester, A. D. 738. Nothing more than the bare name of Finkeley, in the year 788, remains to posterity; one at Aclea, of the same year, having undergone a like fate. In that of Verulam, 793, Offa engages to build a magnificent abbey in honour of St. Alban. At Finchale, A. D. 798, under Eanbald, Archbishop of York, and Thenulf, King of the Mercians. Of this synod we have only a few in-

troductory lines, copied verbatim from Theodore; which express and contain a reception of the five œcumenical councils, as recited above. The synod of Abingdon demands more minute investigation.

Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by six bishops, with several priests, and a great number of the inferior clergy, presided in the said council, A. D. 742. Ethelbald, also, accompanied by thirty-two dukes and leaders, honoured it with his presence. Thirty canons were drawn up, relative to the duties of bishops, priests, clerics, monks, nuns, and the conduct of the laity. They enjoin a faithful observance of their respective obligations, in making parochial visitations, in administering the sacraments, duly observing the fasts and feasts of the church, frequenting the holy Eucharist, and in avoiding vanity of dress, and every other unbecoming species of deportment. The fifth canon adverts to nominal monasteries, stigmatizing them as being a *certain violence of tyrannical avarice*. This severe censure, conveyed in general terms,

which have frequently been misunderstood, is conceived to require a concise explanation. We find it in the works of Bede, stating the rise and progress of the aforesaid grievance.

Our venerable historian finished his history about ten years before the date of this council. Approaching to a conclusion, he takes a pleasing view of the triumphant state of the country, then enjoying the sweets of universal tranquillity; supported, moreover, and ornamented by the learning and virtues of illustrious prelates. The Picts had not only made a treaty of peace with the Saxons, but were even rejoicing in a participation of Catholic peace with the universal church. The Scots, divested of all deceit and insidious designs, lived contented within their boundaries. And the hereditary enmity of the Britons, either to the Saxon race, or to the Catholic institution of Easter, produced nothing beyond weak and impotent efforts. So far every thing corresponds with the wishes of our author. In the sequel, he drops insinuations of displeasure at the conduct of the

Northumbrians; who betrayed a passionate, or rather a pretended, fondness for the monastic life, to the prejudice of martial exercises. At present, Bede does not lay open the grounds of his dissatisfaction. But, an alarming sight of the increasing evil, attended with insupportable aggravations, shortly after compelled him to give vent to his grief and indignation, in a letter addressed to Egbert, Archbishop of York. It is the last, in order of time, of the compositions of our venerable historian.

These abuses, we there learn, originated in an admission of improper subjects, who introduced irregularities and scandals into the ancient establishments. The infection spread farther by a contrivance of the following devices, calculated to frustrate the generous designs of pious founders. Church possessions were exempt from secular burthens, the donations usually running in the style of *granting to God, and to the Church, of such a place*; whereas grants to laymen were clogged with services, or acknowledgments.

Avarice hereupon suggested to the laical nobility a sacrilegious scheme of obtaining licences to erect monasteries, which they supplied with their own guards or attendants, with monks decoyed from true monasteries, or with such as had been expelled for misdemeanors. This method was of almost thirty years standing. The difficulty of a reform, Bede confesses, was much increased by the behaviour of spiritual lords; who, from a love of filthy lucre, had lent their names and signatures to these heterogeneous monasteries, and self-denominating monks. But the necessity of providing a remedy, he frankly tells him, was manifest: the depth of the disorder required powerful applications. He concludes with exhortations to a vigorous exertion of episcopal authority, by appealing to the conscience of the archbishop, and reminding him of the indispensable obligation under which he lay—of obeying God rather than man.

It is more than probable that this animated letter awakened the attention, and

rouzed the zeal of his countrymen. A proper and final reformation seems to have been made about the year 796; since we meet with no posterior mention of similar abuses. In that year, a synod was called to Becan-celd in Kent, composed of twelve bishops and twenty-three abbots; Athelard, Arch-bishop of Canterbury, presiding. They there issued an order, conformable with the apos-tolical mandate of Leo, that no one thence-forward should dare to appoint laymen over the inheritance of God.

The synod of Cealchythe, A. D. 788, very properly bears the name of a legatine coun-cil, as sitting under Gregory and Theophi-lactus, bishops and legates of Pope Adrian. Their first care was, to renew a profession of their apostolical and universal faith, deli-vered in the six general councils, in the man-ner they had been instructed by the holy Roman Church. Then follow several di-rections, enforced by exhortations made to the clergy, and to the whole body of the faithful. Lastly, a partition of Canterbury

jurisdiction was sanctioned by Adrian, in deference to the solicitations of King Offa and his subjects. By this ordinance, Lichfield, in the vicinity of which town Offa had gained a signal victory, was raised to the dignity of an archbishopric; having under its jurisdiction Worcester, Leicester, Sidnachester, Hereford, Elmam, and Thetford. An alteration of such importance, humanly speaking, could not be made without warm debates, and strong remonstrances. In consequence of which, we may presume, it was, that the Saxon chronicler qualifies it by the name of *litigious synod*. But the regulation was not durable: we shall soon see power and pre-eminence restored, and lastingly fixed at the ancient metropolis.

From this remarkable point of discipline, let us turn to the state of learning, greatly improved and adorned by Bede, born in that part of Northumbria which now passes under the name of bishopric. He was educated in the monastery of Iarrow, under the eye and direction of St. Bennet Biscop. In this reli-

gious asylum, or in the neighbouring and associated house of Weremouth, he spent the residue of his earthly pilgrimage, rendered illustrious by a wonderful extent of erudition, by a modest humility, and all other Christian virtues in an eminent degree. *Beda vir maxime doctus, et minime superbus*, is his true character, thus energetically drawn by William of Malmsbury. In fervent acts of piety, praising and glorifying God, he entered into the joy of the Lord, probably in the year 735.* High encomiums have been bestowed on him

* He had previously taken care to desire the monks of Lindisfarne to pray and say masses for him, after his death. "*Me defuncto, pro redemptione animæ meæ quasi familiaris et venaculi vestri orare, et missas facere, et nomen meum inter vestra scribere dignemini.*" *Vita St. Cuthberti*, p. 228. In another work purgatory is mentioned by name. "*Et vero nonnulli propter bona quidem opera ad electorum sortem præordinati, sed propter mala aliqua, quibus polluti corpore exierint post mortem severe castigandi excipiuntur flammis ignis purgatorii, et vel usque ad diem judicii longa hujus examinatione a vitiorum sorde mundabitur; vel certe prius amicorum fidelium precibus, eleemosynis jejuniis, fletibus, hostiæ salutaris oblationibus absoluti poenis, et ipsi ad beatorum perveniunt requiem.*" *Thesaurus Anec. of Martene*, vol. v. p. 326.

by writers of every country, interest, and religion. And that with the strictest justice. For he was a model to monks, the glory of his own times, and the wonder of posterity.

Beside commentaries on the scripture, and sermons, he wrote on the numerous topics of literature, which form the circle of sciences. Bishop Turner affirms, "he alone is a library, and a treasure of all the arts." What here claims peculiar attention, as lying directly within our province, is his ecclesiastical history. His chief co-operator in that arduous undertaking was a certain Albinus, a monk of universal learning, who diligently perused the records deposited at Canterbury, took information from the adjacent elders; and, to add greater weight and extent to the lucubrations of his valuable friend, dispatched Northelmus to Rome in search of Saxon memorials. This treasury supplied our author with a variety of letters, illustrative of the task he had then in hand. His accounts of the other provinces are derived from clear and copious sources, that were found in each of the king-

doms. For the first establishment and early progress of religion in the northern districts, he had the authority of numberless vouchers. The latter transactions are written from his own knowledge. These advantages were ennobled by a sincere love of truth, the only support and brightest ornament of history. The mind of man, Cicero very justly remarks, is naturally pleased with what is true, simple, and sincere. We need not seek any other arguments, than such as are preserved in this his history, for clear and full evidences upon all the articles that were alleged as reasons, when England removed the ancient landmark. The same, if the nature and limits of my task could admit, might easily and satisfactorily be evinced from the works of St. Gregory, our apostle, as he is called by St. Bede. “What did Gregory and Augustine bring into the church” of England? This is a question proposed by Doctor Humphreys, to which he answers: “the burden of ceremonies—the archiepiscopal pall to be used only in the solemnity of the mass.—Purgatory—the offering of

the wholesome sacrifice, and prayers for the dead—relicks, transubstantiation," &c. This last article St. Gregory commemorates in his 14th and 22d homilies on the gospels, and more fully in his fourth book of dialogues, where he says, "We ought to offer the daily sacrifice of his flesh and blood. For this victim, in a singular manner, saves the soul from eternal perdition.—Who, though being risen from the dead, he dieth now no more; yet living in himself immortally and incorruptibly, he is again immolated for us in this mystery of the holy oblation. For his body is there received, his flesh is distributed for the salvation of the people, his blood is not now poured in the hands of unbelievers, but into the bodies of believers.—Can any of the faithful make any doubt, but that at the very hour of the sacrifice, the heavens are opened at the voice of the priest, and the choirs of the angels are present at that mystery of Jesus Christ; the lowest things are associated with the highest, earthly things joined to heavenly

things, and things visible and invisible become one." See App. No. 3.

To venerable Bede, as a promoter of salutary and saving science, it is incumbent on us to subjoin B. Egbert, brother of Eadbyrth, King of Northumbria. Conspicuous by birth, learning, and virtues, he was created bishop in the year 734, and recovered the metropolitan jurisdiction and pallium for the see of York. This dignity had not been enjoyed by any of the successors of St. Paulinus.

After the example of Theodore, he compiled a Penitential, in which it is observed, that the primate enjoined a course of penance, to last one, two, or three years, for capital crimes; and, for lesser offences, one week or a month, not making any distinction of persons. Some people thinking this hard and difficult, to those who could not keep the fast, leave is given to redeem it by prayer and alms deeds. The penitent is strongly and severely cautioned against a repetition of his former iniquity, lest he become like a dog returning to the

vomit. In order to encourage sinners to confess* their secret sins to their confessarius, and lay open all their faults, they are told that it is better to be now ashamed before him alone,

* The necessity of auricular confession is, in like manner, enforced by our St. Boniface, coeval with Egbert, and the apostle of Germany. "If we should conceal our sins, God will discover them publicly in spite of us. And it is better to confess them to one man, than to be publicly exposed, and covered with confusion for them in the sight of all the inhabitants of heaven, earth, and hell." Hom. 4. To learn how to proportion penitential works to the sins of the penitent, undoubtedly was the duty of a priest hearing confessions. But the principal advantage of divine appointment, was the remission of sin, to be obtained by the form of absolution, pronounced by the confessarius. This was rightly understood by our Saxon forefathers. Alcuin alone, not to speak of other qualified witnesses, is a satisfactory voucher, and a decisive evidence. "*Quomodo sacerdos reconciliat, quem peccare non novit? Sacerdotes a Deo Christo cum sanctis apostolis ligandi solvendique potestatem accepisse credimus.*" Ep. 71. "*Sine confessione non est indulgentia.—Preca Beatam Mariam cum sanctis apostolis et martyribus, et confessoribus ut ipsi intercedant pro te ad Dominum.*" Harleian MSS. Num. 440, p. 54. This work was transcribed from a Bennet, MS. by Abraham Whelack. The following note is prefixed to the transcript. "*Hic liber videtur esse scriptus primo latine per Theodorum Archiepiscopum septimum Cantuariensem, et per Ellfridum translatus Saxionice.*"

coram me solo misero, than afterwards in the presence of God at the great judgment. The priests of God, with deacons and the other ministers, are commanded to keep perpetual chastity; a violation of which is to be punished by degradation, loss of their order, and by long and rigorous fasting.

In the pontifical of Egbert, we read, with pleasure and profit, the ceremonies used at the coronations of our Saxon kings. Supplications are there made in behalf of the king, that he may ever remain obedient to the law of God, and fight the battles of the Lord; serving him with love, and loving him with fear. Likewise, they beg for him the wisdom of Solomon in discerning causes, peace and harmony with his own subjects, and the gift of magnanimity against his enemies. Not with a view to victory, but for the purpose of securing peace and tranquillity, *maneant sine clade victor*. At the end of mass, the king makes a solemn promise to observe the three annexed articles. The first is, to maintain in true peace the church of God, and all Christ-

ian people. By the second, he engages to prohibit all orders of men from committing injustice and oppression; and, in the third, promises to enforce an observance of equity and mercy in all judgments. After the anointing of the king, the delivery of the sceptre and staff, and the placing of the crown upon his head, all the people, uniting with the bishops and the priests, address him three times with the customary wish, *Long live N. our king*. This is followed by another salutation to the same effect, which the people confirm and applaud by repeating, Amen, Amen, Amen.

Egbert, a worthy master, had a worthy disciple in Alcuin, reckoned the first of Saxon scholars, after Bede and Aldhelm. Being recalled from Canterbury to his native country, and charged with the superintendence of the flourishing school at York, he there gave ample demonstration of the care with which he had cultivated and improved his excellent talents. Their value was fixed by being determined to virtuous pursuits, and useful attainments. These, his acquisitions, he endeavoured

to impart to his disciples, in lectures on theology, astronomy, and on the various subjects which form the circle of the liberal arts. It is altogether needless to dwell upon his proficiency in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. In the year 780, he was deputed on a commission to Rome, to bring over a pallium for Eanbald, then succeeding to his uncle Elbert. At Parma, Alcuin was introduced into the company of Charlemagne, who presently conceived a strong desire of detaining our illustrious countryman. Many obstacles appeared. The proposal met with great opposition, especially from the Northumbrian king, and the Archbishop of York. But all difficulties were surmounted by the urgent solicitations of a powerful prince. He ever paid an obsequious deference to the advice of Alcuin, assisted at his lectures, and by them learned to turn his thoughts from war and conquest, to the protecting of science, and the perfecting of government. In consequence of which resolutions, he founded many literary establishments, that may be said to have given

a future rise to the university of Paris. To requite such important services, dignities and affluence were opened to him with a liberal hand. But Alcuin sought not temporal credit, or terrene emoluments. The hurry of a court was a station ill suited to the inclinations of one who wished to devote his days to studious pursuits, and the practices of piety. He implored, therefore, and at length extorted a permission to withdraw from every public office, and embrace the state of a private, either monk or canon, in the abbey of St. Martin at Tours; where he finished a course that procured for him the *crown of justice*, A. D. 804.

In the full career of French honours, Alcuin always retained a most tender concern for the welfare of his country, which he manifested by the tenor of his conduct at the court. Other monuments of the same cordial affection are preserved in sundry letters to persons of rank, both in church and state.

In one conveyed to Jarrow, he exhorts the monks to a vigilant assiduity in the education of youth, that the students may be accustom-

ed to assist at the divine praises of their heavenly King, and not suffered to waste their precious hours in hunting hares, or chasing foxes. They are animated to vigorous exertions, from the example of their great master, Bede, by considering his fame on earth, and the glorious recompence he has received from God. Other letters, inscribed to York, Offa, and to Athelard, Archbishop of Canterbury, are equally expressive of his benevolent dispositions. The following instructions, transmitted to Adelred, King of Northumberland, give us an idea of the zealous freedom he exerted in delivering maxims for life, or the precepts of religion.

“A faithful friend,” he observes, “is a treasure not easy to find; nor preserved without difficulty. I never cease to admonish persons, whose welfare I have continually at heart. Reflect on the manifold favours you have received, the dangers from which you have been delivered, and the honours you actually enjoy, by being placed above the assaults of enemies. Be not insensible to all

these mercies : they are given as means for the acquiring of everlasting life. The felicity of this world cannot be eternal. Let it then be the study of your life to make these earthly dignities subservient to the grand object of obtaining never-ending honours. Abhor the capital sins, which exclude offenders from the kingdom of God, unless they amend their lives by confession, by long penance, and by large alms. The blessing of God is preferable to all the riches of the world. Terrestrial acquisitions pass away : that alone remains, which is given for God. Can a spark of generosity be lodged in the breast of him who becomes illiberal to his own soul? Who will be faithful to you, if you be unfaithful to yourself? How can your welfare be dear to others, whilst you yourself neglect it? Thou shalt die, O man, and leave all thy possessions. Thou seekest to become rich in a momentary pilgrimage, and doth not desire to be rich where thou wilt remain for ever. Send your riches before you ; meditate on the horrible torments of everlasting fire ; run while

you have light; work while the day remaineth. The goodness of a king bestows prosperity on a nation: and the summit of felicity is attained by every reign, which conducteth the people into the paths that lead to a celestial kingdom. Bishops have it in charge to correct monasteries, regulate the behaviour of the religious, preach the word of God, and instruct the faithful with unremitting attention and devotion. It is a duty incumbent on the laity* to obey the instructions delivered by the preachers. Justice and mercy are also required from them, in order to obtain the divine protection for perpetu-

* The king, indeed, is sometimes called the Vicar of Christ: but the old homelist informs us, that this title was given to him, because it was his duty to defend, with his army, the people of Christ from the evil designs of their enemies. Whelack, p. 151. "It is the right of a king," says Withred, King of Kent, A. D. 692, "to appoint earls, ealdermen, shirereeves, and doomsmen; but it the right of the archbishop to rule and provide for the church of God." Wilkins, cone. p. 57.

"Vexillum sublime Crucisvenerare fidelis,
Qua quis se munit, tristia non metuit."
Alcuin, carmen, 18.

ating, in happiness and prosperity, a kingdom given to our ancestors by the bountiful hand of God."

His writings are numerous, and abound with proofs of orthodoxy on the sacraments of baptism, confirmation, confession, the holy Eucharist, veneration of the cross, and on all other articles. In fact, he laid down and followed a plain and sure rule; which is, communion with the successors of the blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, whom our Lord Jesus Christ appointed the head of his chosen flock: a beato Petro, principe apostolorum, quem Dominus noster Jesus Christus caput electi sibi gregis statuit. Nos intra terminos apostolicæ doctrinæ et sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ firmiter stamus. This, his rule, is not only plain and safe, but, moreover, necessary to be observed, and indispensable, in order to avoid the guilt of schism, and preserve a just claim to the name of Catholic. Et ne schismaticus inveniatur, et non Catholicus, sequatur probatissimam sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ auctoritatem,

On a former occasion, slight mention was made of the library at York: Alwin furnishes a copious catalogue of its treasures.

Illic invenies veterum vestigia patrum,
 Quicquid habet pro se latio Romanus in orbe,
 Græcia vel quicquid transmisit clara latinis:
 Hebraicus vel quod populus bibit ore superno,
 Africa lucifluo vel quicquid lumine sparsit.

He then specifies St. Jerome, St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Athanasius, Cyprianus, St. Gregory the Great, St. Leo the Great, St. Basil, St. Fulgentius, Cassiodorus, St. Chrysostom, St. Althem, St. Bede, Victorinus, Boætius, Pomperius, Pliny, Aristotle, Tully, Sedulius, Juvenius, Alcuin, (seemingly a misnomer, either for Alcinous, or Alcimus) Clemens, Prosper, Paulinus, Arator, Fortunatus, Lactantius, Virgil, Statius, Lucan, Auctor artis grammaticæ, Probus, Focas, Donatus, Priscianus, Servius, Euticius, Pompeius, Comminianus.

Invenies alios plures. . .

Nomina sed quorum præsentibus in carmine scribi
 Longius est visum, quam plectri postulet usus.

Germany was benefited equally, or rather more than France, by the piety and learning of our illustrious progenitors. St. Boniface, or Winifrid, had no success in his first attempt to civilize and enlighten the northern barbarians. But perseverance drew down the blessing of Heaven; and a second mission, opened with the licence and apostolical benediction of Gregory the Second, procured him an abundant harvest, with the title of apostle of Germany. It was conferred on him for having there converted, many years before his martyrdom in East Frisia, an hundred thousand souls. St. Lullus, his successor in the see of Mentz; St. Burchard, the first Bishop of Wintzburgh, in Franconia; St. Willebald, first Bishop of Eychstadt, in Bavaria; St. Witta, Bishop of Bura-bourgh, in Westphalia, with St. Wigbert, St. Winnibald, St. Sola, &c. were all natives of England, and zealous co-operators with Boniface.

To these must be added the holy virgins, St. Lioba, St. Thecla, St. Walburge, &c. who contributed very much to the number and me-

rit of religious nurseries. St. Walburge, daughter of St. Richard, King of the West Saxons, spent fifty-four years in the exercises of devout retirement: one half in the nunnery of Winburn, Dorsetshire; the remaining twenty-seven in Germany, to which she repaired at the request of her kinsman, St. Boniface. Her life has been compiled by six ancient writers, of whom two were bishops—an ample proof of the extraordinary veneration paid to her memory. The same may be inferred from the number of churches that were dedicated to God, under her name. She was the titular saint of Aichstadt, the place of her residence and happy death; and of many other great churches in Germany, Brabant, Flanders, with several provinces in France, especially Poitou, Perche, Normandy, Burgundy, Lorraine, Alsace, &c.

In the decline of the century, St. Willehad carried the light of the gospel to the Saxons, and had the happiness to see Duke Witichind and his people embrace the faith of Christ. The Lower Germany was enlightened by St. Willibrord and his disciples. After the con-

summation of his glorious course, our English saints, Lebwin, Marchelm, Adelbert, and Werenfrid, erected the victorious standard of the cross in divers parts of those rude and savage regions. *The apostles of nations, the glory of Christ*; a glory which is the peculiar privilege and distinctive characteristic of the Catholic church. Let any one examine the annals of more than seventeen hundred years, (but carry with him the torch of criticism, on coming to the conversion of the Muscovites or Russians) and he will rest fully convinced, that every pagan nation was converted into a communion with the successors of St. Peter, whom St. Chrysostom distinguishes by the titles of, *the head of the choir, the mouth of all the apostles, the head of that family, and the president of the whole world.**

* The liturgical books of Germany, copied mostly from the Roman sacramentaries, exhibit the ceremonies to be used in the administration of baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, extreme unction, holy order, and matrimony; also, masses for the living and the dead; liturgies of the saints, festivals in their honour, veneration shewn to their relics, a public veneration of the cross on Good Friday, with

We left Canterbury in a certain degree of humiliation, as being bereaved of a part of her extensive jurisdiction; she is now going to re-ascend to her former height of pre-eminence.

NINTH CENTURY.

ATHELARD wished to procure a restoration of ancient dignity, in its full extent, to his metro-

the other articles and usages of the Catholic church. On the eucharistic sacrifice and sacrament, the editor (p. 160) collects several passages, which abundantly confute the novel and heterodox opinions of the Lutherans and Calvinists. Additional evidences frequently occur in the course of his invaluable publication. See *Vetus Liturgia Alemannica*, and *Monumenta Veteris Liturgia Alemannicæ*, published by Gerbert, the constant and learned abbot of the monastery of St. Blase, in Germany. One of his ancient manuscripts, which contains a *sacramentarium Romanum* of a date anterior to the time of St. Leo, he prizes as an *incunparabilis codex*, *cujus si notitia ud Thomasios, Mubillonios, Muratorios pervenisset, puto, quod alacres in Alemanniam ejus videndi causa advolassent,—superatis alpium jugis.* Preface, p. 19.

politan see; and, for this purpose, thought of taking a journey to Rome, previously communicating his intentions to Alcuin, then in France. The first proposal did not strike him in a proper light. Far from giving any countenance to the proposed journey, he answered him by inculcating the necessity of personal residence and attention to his diocese, with exhortations to a strenuous assiduity in reforming the conduct of ecclesiastics. Their vanity in dress, he remarks, had brought them into the contempt and derision of strangers. In reply, the archbishop transmitted a second memorial, which operated a total alteration in the sentiments of his correspondent. He now sees the propriety of the measure, and makes a proffer of his own influence and interest to help forward his friend on the way to Rome. At his return, he congratulated him on the issue of his conference with Pope Leo, the successor of Adrian, who restored to the church of Canterbury her plenitude of power, by an order which was executed in the council of Abingdon, A. D. 803.

Thirteen years later, the synod of Cealchythe was opened by a profession of faith, and engagements to observe the canons of the church. In the next place, they lay down precepts for the conduct of bishops, inferior clergy, and the religious of each sex. From the first introduction of Christianity among the Saxons, prayers and the holy sacrifice of the mass were offered for the repose of the faithful departed, as may be seen in the Roman missal and antiphonal, used by St. Augustine and all the clergy of England. The tenth and last chapter of this synod descends to particulars, and distinctly marks out respective obligations. It enjoins prayers, fasting, alms, and emancipation of slaves, for a deceased bishop. Upon notice of his death, every servant of God is commanded to repair to the church, and there jointly sing thirty psalms for the soul of the defunct; every bishop and abbot six hundred psalms, and cause to be said one hundred and twenty masses, &c. Several posterior councils treat of lands belonging to Canterbury and Croyland, and of other concerns of

small importance, at least when compared with the event which we are about to submit to the inspection of the reader. It is nothing less than a reduction of the heptarchy.

A young West Saxon prince, of the name of Egbert, apprehending his life to be in danger from the envious designs of Brithnic, passed over into France. He was graciously received by Charlemagne. Under the conduct, and in the military service of this great commander, he continued three years, or more, till the death of Brithnic. The West Saxon nobility then recalled their Egbert, to take possession of the throne of his ancestors, which he ascended in the last year of the eighth century. Immediately upon his accession, he endeavoured to introduce the more gentle manners, as well as the martial spirit of the French, at the same time striving to rivet himself in the affections of the people—the surest and most glorious defence of a throne and kingdom. An essential point, thus gained, enabled him to turn his arms with advantage against the Britons, on the side of Devon and Cornwall; but peace

and harmony subsisted between him and his Saxon neighbours down to the twenty-third year of his reign. At that period, Bernulf, the jealous and potent King of Mercia, called forth into action all the courage and conduct of our rising hero.

Antecedently to this momentous crisis, the Mercians had subjugated East Anglia, and put tributary princes over the states of Kent and Essex. Sussex had long ceased to be a distinct kingdom. Northumbria sat weeping among the ruins, caused by anarchy and the flames of civil discord, which had now been raging for the space of thirty years; whence it is readily understood, that the grand contest for predominance must have lain between the Mercians and the West Saxons. Their two armies met at Ellandun, in Wiltshire; one side relying on hereditary glory, and their extensive dominion; the other was elated by fresh victories, and confident of success from the proved abilities of their leader. The battle was such as might be expected, very fierce and very obstinate; and the slaughter so great, that *the*

stream of Ellandun flowing with blood, in ancient times was known to a proverb. In the end, the cause of justice prevailed: the greater part was forced to yield to the better; and Egbert, though styled a *mournful victor*, on that day gave a deadly wound to the power of Mercia.

Without suffering the ardour of his victorious soldiers to abate, he forthwith marched at the head of an army into Oxfordshire, and sent a body of forces into Kent, which soon made a voluntary submission. Sussex and Essex became an easy conquest. The East Angles, exhausted by a ruinous war with Mercia, craved his protection, and made him a tender of their kingdom. Nor could Withlaf, the Mercian king, resist the force of the torrent throughout the year 827. Northumbria alone remained in possession of her independency, but was well nigh sinking under the pressure of domestic evils; so that, making but a short resistance, she stretched out her arms to welcome, rather than to repel, the West Saxon phalanx. Unconquerable in the field, but cau-

tious in the use of victory, Egbert discovered a spirit of moderation, which pleased the North-umbers, without causing any disgust to his own people; for, in parting, they gave all the marks of mutual satisfaction and applause. In order to extend, and still more strengthen the affection of these his new subjects, he allowed them to have a tributary and dependent king, after the examples of Mercia and East Anglia; to which he had previously granted the same flattering ensigns of privilege and prerogative.

In this manner, within the course of four years, Egbert recovered Kent, Sussex, and Essex, which had been wrested from his ancestors; and, moreover, erected a sovereignty over all the other states. A modern writer observes: "Here the conquered gained as much by the revolution as the conquerors;" rightly judging that the consistency of a monarchical government was better adapted to the boundaries of England, than a collection of views and interests between a number of independent rulers.

Two or three of our annalists, not the most

ancient, say, that on the present occasion Egbert was crowned a second time in an assembly of the nobility at Winchester, A. D. 819; and ordered the country to be called England, with a corresponding title for himself and his subjects. So early as the year 586, a decree was passed by common consent, as Matthew of Westminster relates, which enacted, that the island should bear the name of Anglia. St. Bede likewise intitles his history, *Historia gentis Anglorum*; and we have seen the Saxon slaves, exposed in the Roman market, presented to St. Gregory under the appellation of *Angles*. But it does not appear to have been much in use; neither do we find Egbert taking the title of *Rex Anglorum*. However, he may be, and is with sufficient propriety, considered and denominated the first monarch of England.

Being supported by splendid victories, a shining reputation, and a superior, now singular, nobility of birth traced up to Woden, he easily found means of maintaining an authority over his new conquests. And the late

union, it might have been expected, would prove an impregnable fortress against all the attacks of foreigners. But an essential bulwark was wanting. During the confused and jealous heptarchy, our navy had been neglected. In consequence of this neglect, the nation became exposed to the insults of savage plunderers, the Norwegians, Goths, Swedes, and Vandals; all comprised under the general name of Danes, the most dreadful and destructive of all our invaders. For the Romans and Saxons quickly began to cherish the country as their own; whereas the Danes had nothing in view, but devastation and plunder, to be carried away across the ocean. They rendered themselves formidable even before the end of the reign of Egbert, who finished his mortal course, A. D. 838.

The name of his eldest son, who died before his father, is not known. Ethelwolf, his other son, had been ordained subdeacon: but circumstances induced Pope Leo to grant him a dispensation to marry, and return to a laical state. By inclination, no doubt, he was

led to a life of retirement, in preference to the honour of swaying sceptres: in quiete degere, quam provinciis imperitare mallet, says Malmesbury. Neither do we pretend to hold him out to view, as adorned with the resplendent talents of his father. But he was a virtuous prince, and had the wisdom (an important qualification) to choose able counsellors; Alstan, Bishop of Sherburne, in the administration of temporals; and St. Swithin, Bishop of Winchester, in all ecclesiastical affairs. By the advice and vigour of the former, he frequently repulsed the Danes. His ecclesiastical ordinance regard the poor, Peter-pence, and a memorable grant of tithes. He promulgated a law for his hereditary dominions, which obliged every ten families to supply one poor person with meat, drink, and apparel. This is the origin of corodies,

In the year 726, Ina erected a school at Rome, and established the eleemosinary donation of Peter-pence among his West Saxons. After this example, Offa also founded there and endowed a school, and made the

same largess for Mercia, A. D. 794; ad sustentationem scholarium sui regni. Ethelwold extended the said Peter-pence, or romescot, to the whole kingdom: and it was continued (with a temporary stoppage in the time of Edward the Third) thenceforward into the reign of Henry the Eighth. Carte says of Peter-pence: "it was paid at the rate of a penny for every family, that had thirty pence annual rent in land." Our old chronographers indiscriminately call this gratuity, eleemosina, tributum, vectigal, and denarius S. Petri; as being given to the church of St. Peter; or, because it was collected on the 1st of August, one of the festivals of St. Peter. To this customary bounty, Ethelwolf superadded a yearly grant of three hundred manseuses, of which two hundred were to furnish lights for the churches of the apostles, and the residue allotted to the use of the *universal apostolical Pope*.

When the king made these engagements, he was at Rome, accompanied by his youngest and best beloved son Alfred, now on a

second visit to the metropolis. At the time of his first journey, he was only five years of age. Leo the Fourth then adopted him for his son; and, by a happy presage of his future dignity, anointed him king.

The clergy of his own kingdom received a more secure and ample maintenance, confirmed to them by two charters; the first made at his palace, in the year 854, which seems to regard solely the West Saxon dominions, as the bishops and nobles of these provinces were the only attendants. The second was solemnly proclaimed in the church of St. Peter, at Winchester, A. D. 855, in the presence, and with the subscriptions, of Burrhed, King of Mercia; Edmund, King of the East Angles; and of all the bishops, abbots, dukes, counts, and prime nobility of England. By these charters, a tenth part of the lands of his kingdom, free from all secular service and royal aids, was granted to the clergy, secular or regular, that they might be left more at leisure to offer up their prayers for the welfare and prosperity of the na-

tion. In return, they bind themselves to repeat fifty psalms on all Wednesdays in every church; each priest twenty-one masses for the king and nobility, while living; and, after their decease, for the king in particular, and the nobility in common.

A donation of this nature, accompanied with such solemnity, doubtless would be enregistered by all succeeding annalists. Some barely recite the grant itself; others content themselves with contracting the substance of it into a single line: not one ever thought of charging the sovereign with a neglect of the state, while he was thus making provisions for the stability and prosperity of the church. The judicious William of Malmesbury collects the transactions of his reign into one view, in which we behold Ethelwolf occupied in promoting the exterior and interior welfare of his subjects; making his grant of tithes after he had triumphed over his enemies; and undertaking a journey to Rome, not until he had put his kingdom under proper regulations. *Exteriora bene providere, et interiora*

non despicere. Post triumphatos scilicet hostes ad Dei cultum conversus decem omnium hydarum intra regnum suum Christi famulis concessit. . . Romam composito regno abiit. Malmesbury here alludes to the victory of Okeley, gained in the year 851; the most signal and decisive that had ever been obtained over the Danes. As such it is celebrated, by our ancient historians, in the highest strain of panegyric; and not without being ascribed to the personal valour and intrepidity of the king. Angli fortiter repugnantes, quia viderunt atrociter regem bellare ipsorum.

On his way from Rome, he married Judith, the daughter of the Emperor Charles the Bald, and placed her on his throne, contrary to the custom of the West Saxons, ever since their king, Brithric, had been poisoned by his wife. But this reversion of the custom gave no offence: it was done as the text stands in the genuine Asserius, sine aliqua suorum nobilium controversia et odio. The same Asserius paints, in true and strong co-

lours, the conspiracy raised by Ethelbald, in the absence of the king; whose return, says the Saxon Chronicle, filled the people with inexpressible joy, *mirifice lætabatur*. As-serius adds, that great numbers, *perplurimi* conceived it to have been plotted by Alstan, Bishop of Sherburne, and Eanolf, Earl of Somerset; many likewise charge it solely on the insolence of Ethelbald, which nefarious attempt is of a piece with his other arts and deeds. *Multi quoque regali solummodo insolentiæ deputant, quia et ille rex in hac re, et in multis aliis perversi tatibus pertinax fuit. . . Quod nec Deus ita fieri permisit, nec nobiles totius Angliæ consenserunt.* However, happily for the peace of the country, the disorders and disasters of a civil war were prevented by the inexpressible clemency of an affectionate father, who rejected the offers of the people to recover his right, and peaceably ceded the west of England to his ungrateful and rebellious son. After the demise of his father, he engaged in a scandalous marriage with his stepmother Judith, and in other pro-

ceedings that marked the beginning of his reign, was outrageously tyrannical and oppressive. St. Swithin, Bishop of Winchester, interposed his good offices. He prevailed on the king to divorce Judith, repair the scandal by a course of penance, *peracta pænitentia*, and spend the remainder of his life in an observance of the divine commandments. He died A. D. 860; and was succeeded by his virtuous brothers, Ethelbert, Ethelred, and Alfred.

The reign of Ethelbert was only of six years, and much disturbed by Danish pirates. During that of his successor the country was involved in a gulf of misery and calamity.—Hubba was the chief leader. His character appeared in all its horrors at the demolition of Petersburgh abbey, where he murdered all the monks with his own hands. Books, charters, altars, and buildings, were consumed by a conflagration, which lasted fifteen days. The monasteries and monks of Burdney, Croyland, Ely, and Huntingdon, perished in like manner. We have instances of heroic fortitude in the nuns of Coldingham, after the example of St.

Ebba, their abbess, cutting off their noses and upper lips, in order to preserve their chastity, by striking a terror into the infidels. The sight made them spare the virtue of these victims of faith and purity; but, savage as bears, they put them all to the sword. St. Osithe, virgin and martyr; St. Hamund, Bishop of Sherburne; St. Humbert, Bishop of the East Angles; and St. Edmund, king and martyr, bore glorious testimonies to the law of God.

Our valiant Ethelred used his utmost exertions in the defence of his people; gave the Danes battle, with various success, at Englefield, Reading, Ashdown, Basing, and Mereden. He received intelligence of the battle of Ashdown having begun, while he was at his devotions; but would not suffer the service to be interrupted, or leave the place until the mass was finished. Then, signed with the cross of Christ, he arrived time enough to gain a memorable victory, in which one, if not two, of the Danish kings, and five of their earls, were slain. But, in the last-mentioned battle, at Mereden, he himself received

a mortal wound, of which he shortly after died, leaving the right, rather than the possession, of the crown to Alfred, now in the twenty-second year of his age, A. D. 871.

Scarcely had the young king time to solemnize the funeral of his beloved brother, when he was necessitated to take the field against the Danes. They poured in upon the island in different parts at once, and possessed themselves of East Anglia, Northumbria, Mercia; having, at the same time, several armies in the very heart of Wessex. Add to this the dismay of the English, after eight or nine great battles fought within the preceding year. Nothing, however, could damp the spirit of Alfred. He reanimated his forces, and, at the head of an inconsiderable number, engaged the enemy at Wilton; and twice compelled them to evacuate Wessex, with promises never to return. But new armies immediately repeated the devastations. In the beginning of the year 878, by a violation of their oaths, they entered Wessex, with a superiority that forced Alfred to retire, and

conceal himself, with a small number of attendants, in the Island of Athelney, Isle of Nobles. There he lay hidden six months, waiting for an opportunity to exert himself in the cause of his country. It was procured by Odun, the loyal Earl of Devon, who defeated and slew the Danish general Hubba, and took possession of their standard, called Reafen, or Raven, in which the Danes placed a superstitious confidence. Alfred then left his retreat, assembled an army in Selwood Forest, and gave the Danes a total overthrow at Edingdun, forcing them to receive his conditions. These were, that all the idolaters should leave the island; and such of the Danes as embraced the Christian religion, should be confined to East Anglia, and held it of Alfred. Guthrum, one of the vanquished chieftains, received the Sacrament of regeneration. Time was taken for instruction and preparation, although the exact number of days allotted to this catechistical duty cannot now be determined. The Saxon Chronicle says, *about three weeks*. He was bap-

tized, with a multitude of his followers, at Allet, a royal palace in Somersetshire. After baptism, he continued twelve days with Alfred, his godfather, who drew up for him a code of laws, accommodated to the use and exigencies of his Danish subjects.

From this time downwards, Alfred very easily maintained his ground against repeated attacks; especially after he had recurred to the natural, and necessary, defence of our island. He employed three years in building a navy, constructed, by his own ingenuity, upon an improved plan. The vessels were longer, higher, and swifter, than those of his antagonists. In the fifty-six battles, fought by the sovereign, his presence alone struck terror into the infidel armies, and inspired his own men with a confidence, which conducted to success and victory. But Alfred was not merely a hero.

Having suppressed the horrors of war, he began to revise, perfect, and enlarge the ordinances of his predecessors. To give them a more speedy and extensive influence, he

divided the whole kingdom into counties ; the counties into hundreds, and the hundreds into tithings or decennaries. The county was made responsible for the behaviour of the hundred, the hundred for the tithing, and every master of a family for the manners of all within his jurisdiction. Every one was obliged to have himself enrolled ; and, upon change of abode, produce a certificate, and enter his name, within two days. A neglect of timely information against a delinquent was punished by a heavy mulct ; so that it became the interest of individuals to favour a punctual execution of the laws. These regulations shortly prevented robbery, breach of the peace, and even private injustice, in a manner so effectual, that bracelets of gold, and other treasures, left on the highways, remained untouched, and in perfect security. Few crimes, beside murder, were made capital. But he examined narrowly into the conduct of the judges, and punished their faults with severity. Such astonishing improvements of his reign, therefore, may be

considered as the effects of the watchful eye, and laborious hand, of the king himself.

From a love of regularity, one of the governing principles of his reign, he portioned out the revenues of his crown into two equal parts. One half was appropriated to secular uses, and subdivided into three equal shares; for the officers and servants of his court; for his workmen; and to defray the expenses of hospitality in his household. The other moiety he consecrated to works of piety, by the following allotments. One part was applied to the relief of the poor; a second bestowed on the monasteries founded by himself; a third on the university; the fourth was reserved for occasional charities, whether domestic or foreign, particularly in favour of Gaul, Ireland, and remote monasteries. Even the poor Christians of the Isle of St. Thomas, in the East Indies, received from him a considerable alms, which was carried to them by Sigelin, Bishop of Sherburn. To Peter-pence we must subjoin other donations, sent to the successor of St. Peter, the Pope; whom Al-

fred, in a royal charter,* styles *the Bishop of all Christians*:

In golden characters record

Each firm, immutable, immortal word.

His time, like the revenues, was laid out to full advantage. By this economy he divided the day into three equal parts, allotting eight hours for reading, writing, and prayer; the same number was set aside for repose, and the care of his health; the remaining eight were given to the discharge of public business. To assist him in these affairs of the state, he selected out of his clergy and nobility a body of well-instructed counsellors; who, in after times, were distinguished by the name of the Privy Council. Architecture shone in the Augustan age, engaged the studious attention of Charlemagne, and is usually given for a criterion of the degree of taste prevailing in the respective countries.

* This charter, granted to the church of Frekenham, is published in the *Registrum Ruffense*, from two autographs; one in Roman, the other in Saxon characters.

Alfred was not wanting to his credit in this article. He raised the greater towns and cities from their Danish ruins, adorned the kingdom with many magnificent churches, presiding in person over the artificers, in order to create among his people a relish for habits of industry. The abbey of Hyde and Athelney were of his founding; as also the nunnery of Shaftesbury, in which his daughter Algiva was the first abbess. The University of Oxford cherishes a benevolent remembrance of his peculiar favours and predilection. The seat of St. Grimaldus, invited from the abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer, is still to be seen in the church of St. Peter. Among his other learned friends and favourites were Flegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury; Wenefrid, Bishop of Worcester; Asser, of Menevia; and John, of Old Saxony, whom the king calls his mass-priest, or chaplain. This circumstance alone proves, that the John here named, was not the inept and exotic John Scot Erigena, who is never spoken of under that sacred character. Among Pro-

testant writers, Gough (in his *British Topography*, v. ii. p. 752.) makes this plain and full concession: "so little do historians labour to be exact, that this man (John Scot Eri-gena) has been made assistant to Grimbold in founding the University of Oxford, . . . whereas he was dead in six years before his namesake, Abbot of Atheling was invited over by Alfred; and twenty years before the said abbot was murdered by the contrivance of his monks." These closing words of Gough may easily lead the reader into mistakes, and give him a shocking opinion of the monks of that house; who execrated and lamented the murder in the deepest sorrow. It was contrived by two or three Gaulish monks, one a priest, the other a deacon, and perpetrated by two of their Gaulish servants. St. Neot is sometimes numbered among the professors of Oxford. But this is thought to be a mistake. Nevertheless, our warmest eulogiums are due to that celebrated anchoret, for having given a proper direction to the mind of Alfred in the earlier part of his reign, and teaching him

to admire these noble, learned, and virtuous institutions; which ornament the ninth century, and dignify the annals of England.

The king did not satisfy himself with procuring the aforesaid local and limited means of learning; he obliged freeholders to provide for the instruction of their children, and young men of superior rank to qualify themselves for places of preferment, by imbibing a tincture of the Latin language. His statutes were recommended and enforced by example—an invigorating principle. The nation either saw or heard of him, being intently engaged in composing and translating works of useful entertainment, or necessary instruction. The first class consists chiefly of legal and judicial works. Of the second kind were Boetius, the history of Bede, and the incomparable book of St. Gregory the Great, or *the pastoral care*, which was always made a rule of conduct by our English saints. He also composed a short preface to the dialogues of the same St. Gregory, in which he expresses his esteem of the work, and respect for the au-

thor. This preface is prefixed to the said dialogues, as translated into the Saxon language, at the request of the king, by Werefrid, Bishop of Worcester. They contain explicit professions of the Catholic faith on the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass, on the real presence of the sacred body of Christ in the holy Eucharist, on purgatory, &c. His writings, therefore, as well as his ordinances, remain lasting monuments of his piety, begun in infancy, and confirmed by succeeding years. For Asser, his intimate friend and biographer, informs us, that, from his tender age, he had been assiduous in praying, in assisting the poor, in visiting the holy places; and, even in the throng of his manifold occupations, was accustomed to recite psalms and other prayers, every day hear mass, and repeat the canonical hours of the nocturnal and diurnal office.

Before his departure out of this world, he convened the lords spiritual and temporal, who recognized, at his desire, the justness of his title to the crown. His royal will and

testament being read, they were called upon to pledge themselves for a punctual discharge of the donations; consisting mostly of legacies to his friends and relations, to the archbishop, bishop, &c. for himself and his father, for the benefit of all the living and the dead, who were in need of assistance. He then wishes, with a peculiar Saxon boldness, that, in the enjoyment of these his grants, they may be *as free as thought in man*. He died the death of the just, in the last year of the century, after a virtuous and laborious administration, which seems not to have a parallel in the history of kingdoms. “O Alfred!” Spelman cries out, “the wonder of all ages! If we consider his regular exercises of religion, one would think that he had never been out of a cloister; if his wars, that he had lived no where but in a camp; if his regulations for the good of his people, and the security of his kingdom, that he had made the laws the study of his life; and that the arts of government had been the only subject of his reflections.”

TENTH CENTURY.

EDWARD the elder, Athelstan, Edmund, Edred, Edwy, Edgar, and St. Edward the martyr, were the princes who, during the greatest part of the present century, swayed the English sceptre. A line of illustrious sovereigns, with one exception.

Edward was inferior to his father in erudition and literary talents; but surpassed him in military successes, never being foiled in any engagement where he commanded in person. Yet he did not suffer martial achievements so to occupy his time and attention, as to cause a neglect of the other duties of a king, in framing laws, and preserving the holy practices of divine religion. The behaviour of his numerous family affords us ample proofs. From their infancy, his nine daughters were trained up to letters, and domestic works, adapted to their sex; who thence

became virtuous and accomplished ladies. Editha, the eldest, was married to Sithrike, the Danish King of Northumbria. After his death, she entered the monastery of Tamworth, founded by herself. Edgiva was given in marriage to Charles the Simple, King of France; four others also to foreign princes. His second daughter, Elfede, took the vow of virginity in the convent of Rumsey; as Ethelhild, the fourth, did at Wilton. The remaining Edburge is enrolled among the saints. Her father placed before her, yet in her tender infancy, on one side rich jewels, and on the other, a book of the gospel and a chalice. She turned away with a frown from worldly toys, and stretched out her little hand to the book of the gospel. Edward was pleased, and applauded her inclination, considering it as a presage of her future choice, which she made in the nunnery of Winchester. "Where, having put on the religious habit," says William of Malmesbury, "she won, by her obsequious diligence, the affections of all her companions. She was no

ways puffed up with the greatness of her birth; but looked upon it her greatest honour to be an humble handmaid of Jesus Christ.... Her sanctity grew up with her age, and her humility ripened with her years.... In short, the devotion of her heart, and the virginal purity of her body, were demonstrated by very many miracles, both in life, and after her death."

At the same time, it must not be dissembled, that the turmoils of war had prevented Edward from paying proper attention to vacant bishoprics. This oversight drew from the Pope a comminatory letter, in consequence of which he held a synod, A. D. 905, filled up the sees, and supplied the kingdom with bishops, five at least being consecrated on the same day. Chronological objections, that have been raised to disprove the reality of this account, are all easily removed, by substituting, with the late editor of the British councils, the name of Sergius in the place of Formosus. Agreeably to this, Mabillon read Sergius in a MS. copy of Malmes-

bury, treating of the present event. The cause of the misname (to indulge further conjecture) possibly might be the resemblance, in the Saxon alphabet, between the two initials of Formosus and Sergius; as the Pope, about those days, was accustomed to prefix, to pontifical bulls, only the first letter of his name.

Athelstan was a great lover of peace, piety, and religion; learned himself, and a patron of learned men, notwithstanding the tumults in which he was necessarily engaged. Of these, an idea may be obtained by casting our eyes on the battle of Brunarburgh, where he gained a grand victory. Five princes, twelve generals, with an infinite number of the other Danes, Norwegians, Hebridians, Orkney-men, Irish, Scots, Picts, and Britons, were left dead on the field of battle, A. D. 934. Alfred of Beverley calls him the first monarch of England, no petty sovereign then remaining in his dominions, which had always been the case from King Egbert down to his time.

The short reigns of the valiant and virtuous Edmund and Edred, furnish but few events to be recorded by an historian. Edmund appears to be the first sovereign who styled himself *Rex Anglorum*. His predecessors very much varied their titles: neither did successors strictly adhere to any fixed form. A series of grants, made to the abbey of Abingdon, supply both proof and illustration. Ethelwulf there says: *Ego Ethelwulf occidentaliū Saxonum rex*, A. D. 854.—*Athelbaldus Britannie Anglorum monarcha*, no date.—*Ego Athelred gratia Dei occidentaliū Saxonum rex*, A. D. 862.—*Alfredus Anglo-Saxonum rex*, no date.—*Ego Eadward Angul Saxonum rex*, A. D. 903.—*Ego Athelstan rex, et rector totius Brittannie*, no date.—*Ego Athelstan singularis privilegii monarchia prædictus rex*.—*Ego Athelstan totius Brittannie Basileus*, A. D. 931.—*Ego Eadmundus rex Anglorum*, A. D. 940.—His signature is the same in seven successive donations to the said abbey. He is imitated by all his successors, but not invariably. Edred, in one of the year 948, only styles

himself *occidentalium Saxonum rex*; and Edwin sometimes takes the title of *totius Britannie, totius Albionis, and Brittannie Anglorum*.—*Regni mei primo anno, Ego Eadgar rex Anglorum, A. D. 956.* This is his usual form; yet not without taking, on some occasions, the style of *totius Brittannie monarchus, basileus, archeus*. An affectation of Greek terms, very prevalent in the century now before us, might possibly have been recommended and adopted by the persuasion of a Grecian bishop, who then resided in England. To return to the series of events,

Edred ended his pious life, A. D. 955. Edwi, only fourteen years old, was crowned at Kingston; and, after the coronation dinner, left his bishops and nobles to visit a harlot, *ganea* and *pellex*, nearly related to him. Dunstan, then Abbot of Glastenbury, was commissioned, by the archbishop, the nobility, and the whole assembly, *omnium voto, juxta principum jussa*, to follow the king, and put him in mind of the duty he owed to God and men. In requital, the abbot was banished,

and the monks persecuted. During the time of his exile in Flanders, which lasted one year, the Mercians and Northumbers, exasperated at the tyrannical proceedings of Edwi, shook off the yoke, and placed a crown on the head of his brother Edgar. In the four remaining years of the sinful life of Edwi, the north, and nothing more, was governed by Edgar.

This king, honoured with the appellation of *Pacific*, raised England to an unrivalled dominion of the seas. It was his regular practice to send out, after the celebration of the paschal solemnities, three fleets, with orders to make such occasional circuits, as served to overcome foreign enemies, and moreover familiarize his own subjects with nautical tactics. The winter season afforded him security and repose. Then it was, that he visited all the provinces of the kingdom; made a diligent inquest into the conduct of the nobility; scrutinized their manner of observing and executing the laws of the land; and laboured, with scrupulous solicitude, to

erect barriers against every species of oppression, which was but too apt to invade the rights and property of the inferior classes of the people. Carte here owns: "it was certainly owing, in a great measure, to the advice, vigour, and activity of Dunstan, that Edgar acted so wisely in his public conduct."

After him, his eldest son, Edward the martyr, ascended the throne: a blessing to his people, and the miracle of princes. Having reigned not more than three years, he was barbarously murdered, by an order of his stepmother, Elfrida, for the purpose of making room for her own son, the unhappy Ethelred the Second, at that time seven years of age.

All ages have instances of scandals, yet afford but few examples of extraordinary repentance, such as was performed by Elfrida. Awakened by the voice of miracles, testifying the sanctity and the glory of Edward; and, by serious considerations on the truths of eternity, she exchanged her royal robes for sackcloth, and practised other mortifications, beyond what the canons of the church

required. No austerities appeared difficult to a soul that was sincerely and deeply repentant.

In the opinion of Mabillon, the sacred antiquary of the seventeenth century, hardly any age can exhibit such a series of men, eminent for sanctity, as England then produced; St. Odo, St. Dunstan, St. Oswald, St. Ethelred, &c.

The Danish parents of Odo perceived in their son an inclination to the Christian religion, which was gradually improved, and strengthened into a devout veneration. They had, at first, recourse to severity: but it made no impression on a heart inflamed with a knowledge, and desires, of everlasting happiness. He was then banished from their presence and paternal care. Far from being dejected, he rejoiced in tribulation; which, however, was not of a long duration. The religious and noble Duke Athelm took Odo under his protection, and provided him with a suitable education. King Alfred, a competent judge of true merit, also shewed himself equally delighted with the early dawn

of these virtues and abilities ; which, in due time, raised Odo to the first dignities in the church, the sees of either Wilton or Sherburne, and to the primacy at Canterbury. He consented to the first promotion with reluctance. But persisted longer in resisting the second high dignity, alledging his unworthiness, the canons which forbid translations ; and, lastly, that he was not of the monastic order, as all the archbishops of this see had been. The first two reasons were easily overruled ; and, to satisfy him as to the third objection, he received the monastic habit from the hands of the Abbot of Fleury ; whether at that abbey, or in England, it cannot be determined.

Being now placed on the primatial chair, he exhibited proofs of his wisdom, and pastoral zeal, in the whole tenor of his life, in an admirable charge delivered to the bishops ; and in his ecclesiastical constitutions. Great before God and men, he was favoured with a prophetic spirit, and the gift of miracles ; of which the most remarkable is that obtained

for the conviction and conversion of some ecclesiastics at Canterbury, who called in question the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the holy Eucharist. Odo begged, by his prayers, that God would be pleased mercifully to demonstrate to them the truth of this sacred mystery. After this petition, whilst he was saying mass in his cathedral, at the breaking of the host, blood was seen by all the people distilling from it into the chalice.

The saint called up to the altar the above-mentioned ecclesiastics, and others then present, to bear witness to the miracle. Full of gratitude, they afterward celebrated, with their archbishop, a solemn thanksgiving for this wonderful miracle; in which Christ had manifested himself visible in the flesh to their corporal eyes. This miracle is recorded by Eadmer, Malmesbury, many other printed authorities, and by the Protestant archbishop Parker, copying the evidence of an unpublished chronicle of the very church of Canterbury. Odo received the *crown of justice*, A. D. 958. Drawing near to an end of his

mortal course, he endeavoured to console his afflicted people, by assuring them, that after his death God would provide for them a pastor of distinguished merit. This prediction, for a while, seemed to be void of truth: but it was fully verified in the final event.

After the decease of Odo, Elfin, Bishop of Winchester, was intruded into the see, whose ambition transported him into a fit of phrenzy, by insulting the memory of Odo, standing over his grave, and exclaiming "Now I have obtained the object of my wishes," &c. He set out for Rome to demand the pallium, but perished amidst the snows of the Alps. The election then fell on Brithelm, Bishop of Dorchester; who being found unequal to the exigencies of the times, obeyed, not without some uneasiness, the order given him to return to his former station, of greater tranquillity. By reason of these interruptions, our annalists frequently suppress the names of Elfin and Brithelm in their metropolitan rolls, and place St. Dunstan next in succession to St. Odo.

His first preferment was to the abbatial dignity of Glastenbury abbey. Next to the episcopal administration of Worcester, which he was afterwards obliged to govern conjointly with the London diocese, the disorders of the nation requiring an exemption from the rule of the canon law, relative to a plurality of bishoprics. An unanimity of the clergy and laity, enforced by the pressing solicitations of all the bishops, now induce him to undertake the metropolitan charge. Dunstanus *concordi omnium episcoporum assensu pressus, manus dedit*, says Malmesbury. He went to Rome according to custom, *de more*, are the words of his coetaneous biographer, to receive the pallium: was honourably entertained by Pope John the Twelfth, and appointed his legate for the whole kingdom, at that period in a most deplorable situation.

Foreign invasion, joined to domestic dissension, had demolished all the nurseries of piety and learning, the monasteries of England, except the two abbeys of Abingdon and Glastenbury. Among the clergy, not a priest

could be found capable of composing, or even translating, a latin letter. Their gross ignorance was followed by vice and infamy. But Dunstan surmounted all obstacles with a courage, constancy, and perseverance, that were more than human. In the reign of Edgar, at least forty monasteries were either built anew, or restored; and supplied with subjects in whom, Malmesbury relates, a lustre of life corresponded with the splendour of their edifices. In order to effectuate, and preserve, an uniformity in religious houses, our saint drew up a *concord of rules*, in substance agreeing with the celebrated rule of St. Benedict, patriarch of the western monks. This was known, and much respected, and followed from the earliest times, but perhaps not thoroughly adopted by any monastery of the Saxon period.

For the benefit of the secular clergy, he compiled regulations, which bear the title of *Canons published under King Edgar*; while laics received a relaxation in the penitential code of canons. This was their third miti-

gation. The first was made by St. Theodore, abridging the term of public penance; the second by Egbert, Archbishop of York, in favour of infirm constitutions: the third and last is extant in the penitential book of St. Dunstan. According to this indulged method (the use of which is there dissuaded), a penitent may fill up the number of days, by procuring other persons to join with him in performing the prescribed works. After all, this indulging law did not sit so easy on the rich, as a common reader may be inclined to imagine. For it never exempted the offender himself from spending *three days* in severe and public penance, in going barefoot, fasting on bread, water, and vegetables, with a promise of most diligent amendment, in word and work.*

* “Polliceatur animum et mores, verbo et opere sedulo corrigere, omnem justitiam colere, et injustitiam vitare per Dei auxilium quam diligentissime unquam possit.” Wilkins, p. 238.—“Manus ipsa et conscientia quæ munus offeret Deo munda a peccatis esse debeat et absoluta.” Bede, ep: ad Egb. p. 312.—“Ab illo die, quo injustitiam suam dere-

As the monks had been either murdered or dispersed, so likewise did similar calamities attend the secular clergy. The youths were left without means of education, or support of learning and virtuous instruction ;

liquit, non renovet illam deinde, ne forte similis sit canis qui devorat quod prius evomuit." Egbert Penitential. p. 116. —Without amendment of life, alms deeds are of no avail. "Sua dare Deo videntur, seipsos diabolo per flagitia dare non dubitantur." Council of Cloveshoe, A. D. 747. Wilkins, p. 98. —"Fructuosa namque pœnitentia est, admissa deflere, et fleta in postmodum non admittere." Council of Chalcuith, A. D. 785. Wilkins, p. 181. The decrees of this council were confirmed and ratified by the subscriptions of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, seventeen bishops, two kings, several abbots, dukes, &c. — "Puram edidi et veracem confessionem, et prompti sum animi corrigere omnia peccata mea, et qua possum sedulitate, ea semper postea declinare." Canones sub Edgardo, de confessione. Wilkins, conc. magnæ Brit.—Jejunium nullum Deo gratum, nisi quis a flagitiis se continuerit." A Saxon homily, composed about the end of the tenth century. Wheleck, hist. of Bede, p. 245.—Hence it is evident enough, to all who have eyes to see, that the Saxon prelates and pastors strenuously, and uninterruptedly, enforced an observance of the rule laid down by our apostolical successor of St. Peter. "Pœnitentium agere est, et perpetrata mala plangere, et plangenda non perpetrare." St. Gregory, in Evang. L. ii. hom. 34.

whence some of the clergy, in several parts, were married, by an evident violation of the laws of the church. Whitaker allows, that the celibacy of the clergy was recommended by St. Augustine; enjoined under penalty of degradation in the eighth century; and, in the tenth, cohabitation made equal to murder. If this ingenious antiquary, and bold proclaimer of many truths, had inserted the sentence of St. Bede, to which he refers us, his reader might have learned, that the celibacy of the clergy was not only recommended, but also commanded, by St. Augustine. It absolutely excludes all who were in holy orders: *Si qui vero sunt clerici extra sacros ordines constituti, qui se continere non possunt, sorti uxores debent, et stipendia sua exterius accipere.* Another passage of Bede, equally explicit, occurs in his commentary on the first chapter of St. Luke: *nostri temporis sacerdotibus . . . semper castitas observanda præcipitur.* Again, in his book, *de tabernaculo*, he delivers the same doctrine. *Illa castimonie portio, . . . sine qua nemo vel sacer-*

dotium suscipere, vel ad altaris potest ministerium consecrari, id est, si non aut virgo permanserit: aut contra, uxoriæ conjunctionis fœdera solverit.

In reality, the first example to be found of a priest even attempting to marry, is in the person of Angelricus, of the village of Warsaw and church of St. Lupus, about the end of the ninth century. He was prevented by the good, the pious, and the faithful; who notified his design to Maritio, Bishop of Catalaunia, and his council. Being at a loss how to proceed, they agreed to lay the cause before the archbishop, wait for his decision, and, in the mean time, expel Angelricus from their sacred college. Constitit itaque inter nos a nostro seorsum esse collegio, quousque vestro consolemur rescripto. Fulco was the archbishop: his answer has not been discovered. But the opposition of the people, and the embarrassed behaviour of the episcopal council, clearly and fully testify the heinousness of the scandal.

The said Fulco, Archbishop of Rhemes,

held an epistolary correspondence with our king, Alfred the Great. From one of the letters of the latter it appears, that a perverse sect in England *seemed to suggest* it lawful for bishops and priests to have *subintroduced women*,—that is, other women in their houses beside a mother, a sister, &c. as expounded by us in an account of the Council of Nice. That the archbishop and the king understood the words in the just assigned sense, it is plain beyond dispute, from the Council of Rhemes, A. D. 813; and, from the *leges ecclesiasticæ*, translated into the Saxon language, and published in the Councils of Great Britain. Consequently, the suggestion of that perverse sect did not relate to the celibacy of the clergy.

But before the end of this tenth century, through the disorders of the kingdom, chiefly occasioned by the tyranny of Edwi, and the vast number of Danish inhabitants, several of the unlettered clerics, *idiotæ clerici*, were married, and had intruded themselves into churches and monasteries. St. Ethelwold ex-

pelled them from the cathedral of Winchester, A. D. 963; and, in the following year, from the new minster. But not without previous and repeated endeavours to reclaim them from their scandalous lives, of which some were rendered infamous by gluttony, drunkenness, luxury, &c. according to the testimony of a cotemporary writer, who thereupon reprobates them as detested blasphemers of the word of God. Three of the number embraced a regular and monachal life. The others had ample supplies for a maintenance out of the revenues of the church. Nevertheless, they appealed from the sentence of Ethelwold to a council, which met at Winchester, in the year 968. In this assembly, a voice was heard as coming from a crucifix, and confirming the decree of Ethelwold; upon which, the synod gave their sanction, and St. Edward, king and martyr, made it a law of state. Another attempt was tried in the year 975, at the Council of Calne. There the advocates for the dissolute clerics were all either killed, or severely wounded, by the falling of the

roof; whilst Dunstan, at least, if not his companions, received no hurt. From that time, the incontinent clerics gave him no further molestation, as we learn from the continuation of Bede.

St. Oswald, Bishop of Worcester and Archbishop of York, confined himself to gentle measures, recommended by the powerful efficacy of example. Without being obliged to have recourse to compulsion, he induced the canons of St. Peter's, at Worcester, to reform their lives, and embrace the benedictine institute.

Spelman grants (what no one hardly will deny) that northern invasions had exceedingly reduced the state of learning; and that it was restored by Dunstan. Latin scholars may form the best judgment of his style and taste, as an author, upon the perusal of a familiar letter, (Appendix, No. 4.) which he addressed to Wefin, newly elected Bishop of Sherburne. It presents, moreover, a genuine picture of his own life and virtues. He there recommends, in the first instance, the use of mild and le-

nient remedies: but, these proving ineffectual, insists on the necessity of recurring to corrosives. Such he himself applied to a certain count, engaged in an incestuous marriage, and obliged him to submit to the humiliation of public penance. Edgar experienced, in his metropolitan, the same resolution. He did not regard the face of the powerful. This king scandalized the people by violating a virgin, who had put on the religious veil, but was not a nun. *Certum est non tunc sanctionialem fuisse*, says Malmesbury. To atone for this sin and scandal, Dunstan enjoined to the king to refrain from wearing his crown for seven years, to fast two days every week during that term, give large alms, and found a nunnery, which he erected at Shaftesbury. At the expiration of the seven years, the king was crowned again with great solemnity. No one now can be at a loss to conceive why one has been denominated the English David; the other, the English Nathan.

The twenty-seven years of his metropolitan

functions, beside the benefits rehearsed above, were employed in making frequent visitations of all the churches in the kingdom; in administering comfort to the afflicted, relieving the distresses of poverty, and in exhorting sinners with a force of persuasion, that seldom failed of success, even over the most obdurate. His words flowed from a heart deeply impressed with a love of the law of God, gathering by night, in private devotions, what he might distribute in the day; and thus anticipated, in facts, the portraiture of a bishop, as delineated by the able pencil of the great St. Bernard. *Totus suus, et totus omnium erat.*

Ethelred, surnamed the *Unready*, was crowned by St. Dunstan, in the year 979; who, at the same time, foretold the calamities of his reign: the most cruel persecutions that had ever been inflicted by the Danes. Before the end of the century northern invasions began to assume a more pompous appearance, under the command of two crowned heads, Swein of Denmark, and Anlaf of

Norway. Lindsey and Yorkshire were the first that felt their fury. An army, collected to oppose them, was abandoned at the moment of action, by the three principal leaders, all of Danish extraction. The next year brought them up the Thames, as far as London, which they invested. Meeting here with a more vigorous resistance, they were forced to raise the siege; but vented their rage on the adjacent counties of Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire. To put a stop to present ravages, and prevent future devastation, Ethelbert and his nobles thought it expedient to offer to the enemy a sum of sixteen thousand pounds. In consequence of this accepted and discharged stipulation, they passed the winter quietly at Southampton, re-embarked their troops in the spring, and directed their course to their own dominions. Anlaf, out of deference to the principles of equity; and Swein, from a necessity of relinquishing advantages that could not now possibly be improved, or even maintained.

In the year 997, Alfrick, Archbishop of

Canterbury, by the applauded advice of the king, undertook a journey to Rome, in order to procure the pallium, and to obtain a decision of the dispute then carried on between the clerics and monks of Canterbury, respecting the possession of Christchurch. The claims of the clerics, who brought with them no commendatory letters, either from the king or the people, were rejected. Alfrick, on the day after his arrival in Rome, said mass at the altar of St. Peter, and was honoured with the pallium.* The above information is ga-

* A nomenclature of the Pope's granting, and of our archbishop's receiving the pallium, from the beginning to the end of the Saxon dynasty, is given by Ranulf de Diceto, *Anglia Sacra*, v. i. p. 87. Particular honours were shewn to Alfrick and Dunstan, when they received the pallium at Rome. To the former the Pope bequeathed his own pallium, his *agene pallium*. *Chron. Sax. Domitian. A. VIII.* To the latter, leave was granted to wear the pallium, not only on the solemn festivals of our Lord, Epiphany, Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, but also in *Assumptione Dei Genetricis Mariæ*, on the feasts of apostles, in the consecration of bishops, on the anniversary of his birth-day, and in the consecration of a church. *Pontificale S. Dunstani, pulchrè exaratum in litteris Saxonis, labente sæculo decimo, in bibliotheca regia parisiensi. Num. 968.* Copious extracts

thered from additional Saxon notices, in a Saxon chronicle of the British Museum, Domitian, A. VIII. Dr. Gibson, in his valuable edition of the Saxon Chronicle, shews, that the MS. (inscribed Laud) belonged to the abbey of Peterborough, because it contains several passages relative to that abbey, which do not appear in the other copies of this important chronicle. Upon similar grounds, it is fair to conclude, that the MS. Domitian, A. VIII. belonged to Canterbury.

The same Alfrick composed several Saxon sermons, and a paschal homily on the Eucharist, in which several Protestant authors have affected to find Calvinistical doctrine; who, at the same time, betray a self-conviction of the badness of their cause, by giving faulty ver-

from this pontifical, demonstrative of the Catholic doctrine and discipline, are inserted in the folio edition of Martene de ritibus ecclesiæ. It is evident enough, that this pontifical belonged to Glastenbury, as it is followed by a catalogue of books deposited in that abbey. The number is small, but may be reckoned great, considering the times, and the devastations that had been made. There were 128 volumes on sacred subjects; of profane authors, 57.

sions of an obsolete language, almost unknown to the present generation. Thus Spelman, conc. v. i. p. 582, perverts and alters the obvious signification of the word *mid*; as Wheeloe, p. 334, does of the word *lichamliee*. Usher, answer to a chal. p. 78, totally suppresses the following explanatory sentence: *secundum speciem quam exterius ferit*. It is to be observed, that the aforesaid homily is translated almost entirely from a treatise of Ratram, or Betram, an obscure writer of the ninth century, a monk of Corby. The celebrated Mabillon, preface *sæculum iv.* has clearly shewn, *a porté les preuves jusqu'à l'evidence*, that this treatise is orthodox. With even greater certainty, the same may be affirmed of the Saxon translation; because the translator enforces a belief of the mystery, by recounting two miracles, which are manifest proofs of his faith on the real presence and transubstantiation. For further elucidations, not necessary, the reader may recur to Alford, Arnould, or to Lingard, who thence takes occasion to ascertain the unvaried faith of the

whole Saxon period, by adducing perspicuous testimonies, copied from ancient pontificals, and other incontestable monuments.

Next after, or rather before pontificals, attention may be given to missals, as being of daily use, and in the hands of both priests and bishops.

An English missal, copied in the eighth century, was published at Cologne by Schultingus. It is Roman, and the canon of the mass, which contains the essential parts of the sacrifice, is also perfectly Roman. Need I add, that antiquity paid such a veneration to the canon of the mass, as to write sometimes a part, and sometimes the whole, in golden letters. Wanley, p. 83—149, mentions two English missals; one that was bequeathed to the church of Exeter by Leofric, appointed to that episcopal see in the year 1044. The other was written in the year 1061. Seeing that Wanley draws no arguments in favour of heterodoxy, from either of these missals, we may be well assured that both are thoroughly catholic. A fourth missal, now perhaps no

more, was written in the tenth century, and given to the abbey of Jumiege, by Robert, then Bishop of London, in the year 1050. This appears from an entry in the missal, which closes with these words, *recentior ex sanctis qui invocantur in Litaniis est St. Dunstanus*. Other litanies of the saints are also there inserted. This missal is likewise Roman. The canon of the mass agrees with ours of the present day, and is embellished with elegant illuminations, initials in golden letters, and thirteen symbols of victory, to adopt the language of St. Chrysostom; that is to say, thirteen crosses all impressed in gold.

The said missal has particular masses for a deceased bishop, priest, monk, and others; with a great number of prayers for the repose of the faithful departed. Carte was favoured with an examination of this missal, and perused the above-mentioned entry; yet, after all, has the assurance to say, *History of England*, v. i. p. 378, that the doctrines of purgatory, and prayers to saints, are contrary to

the doctrines and usages of the English Saxon church. Such, alas! and such like were the delusions of many pretended reformers! But I must restrain my pen. A love of truth, so congenial with the mind of man, is now in laudable request,

Gratior it dies,

Et soles melius nitent.

ELEVENTH CENTURY.

WITHIN these calamitous days, degraded by ignorance and depravity, scandals again appeared in certain married clerics; who, in their defence, alledged the examples of the priests in the old, and of St. Peter in the new law. In reply, the archbishop, the aforesaid Alfrick, observes: “In the days of the Old Testament, they might have wives, because they neither celebrated mass, nor administered to the people the holy Eucharist. Peter was

married under the old law, before he was converted to Christ; but, when he came to Christ, he left his wife and all worldly possessions." Alfrick, moreover, very properly, and very clearly, expounds the meaning of the often-quoted canon of Nice; inculcates other laws on the same subject; and, without employing force in such a confused state of the nation, endeavours to reclaim the profligate clerics by strong remonstrances, and threats of eternal damnation; plainly telling them, that they are in the number of those whom Christ would reject, as *workers of iniquity*. Spelman, con. v. i. p. 574.—Wilkins, con. p. 250, 251. v. i. —Alford annales, v. iii, p. 444, MS. in the British Museum.*

Alfrick died in the year 1006, and was succeeded by St. Elphege; who also used his utmost exertions in labouring to restore the purity and perfection of the sacerdotal order.

* "Vos vultis esse in illo numero, de quibus loquitur Christus in evangelio, multi dicunt. . . . Christus dicet illis, nescio vos unde sitis, discedite a me omnes operarii iniquitatis." Alfrick, Harleian MSS. Num. 437, page 186.

More below of this good pastor and heroic martyr.

Great numbers of the Danes, at different periods, had been allowed to settle in England. Athelstan and Edgar, in particular, took several corps of their soldiers into pay; and the former raised a Dane to the government of Northumbria, with a design of gaining friends, and procuring a defence against foreign attempts. But the English found, by sorrowful experience, that they were nourishing vipers in the very bowels of their country. Under these circumstances were perpetrated the almost incredible, but probably much exaggerated, horrors of the year 1002, in a massacre of the Danes; which is said to have been made by an order of the king, on being informed of a design to take away his life, and destroy all the nobility, in order to open a way to the seizure of his crown. It is but natural to suppose, that such an act of barbarity would rekindle and inflame the rage of northern enemies. Indignation quickly brought over Swein. However, his fury and

ravages did not prevent Elphege from going to Rome, to petition for a pallium; nor, after his return, for holding a council at Engham, in Oxfordshire, A. D. 1009. The injunctions are principally repetitions of ancient ecclesiastical laws, with which they intermix, according to custom, several edicts respecting civil government. Widows are commanded to remain one year in the state of widowhood. Frequent confession is inculcated, with, what was ever deemed an essential part of penance by all Christians, a diligent amendment of life; and a preparation for receiving, at least three times every year, the holy Eucharist. The ancient law commanding the fast of Friday, was also confirmed.

Not quite three years had elapsed from the date of this council, when a Danish army, in correspondence with Count Edric, entered Kent, and began an attack on Canterbury. Elphege, the archbishop, had been translated from Winchester, where he had provided so liberally for the indigencies of the poor, that, during his time, there were no beggars in the

whole diocese. In the present perilous situation, the nobility would persuade him to leave the city, and retire beyond the reach of danger. "I must," replied the prelate, "take a very different method. I cannot think of exchanging glory for ignominy; and forfeit, by a fear of death, that immortality which God has promised to all mankind. My prayers will not allow me to entertain a thought of abandoning the best of citizens, by choosing a safety unworthy of the name. The character of a mercenary would be my due, if, upon seeing my sheep devoured by the wolf, I should admit the thoughts of flight." He fortified the people against all terrors, gave them the holy Eucharist, and made exhortations to constancy and perseverance in their faith, by placing before them the fortitude of martyrs, and victories bearing testimony to divine faith, not by words, but by torments. After a siege of twenty days, the city was stormed by the assailants, who spread fire and devastation, without any respect either to sex or age. The undaunted prelate, breaking from the monks,

who strove to detain him in the church, as seemingly secure, passed through the Danish troops; and, on coming to the place of slaughter, implored mercy for harmless infants, calling on the murderers to turn their rage rather against him, who had reproached them for their cruelties; and who, by a divine power, was charged with the command over all. The archbishop was instantly seized, made a spectator of the burning of his cathedral, of a decimation of the monks, and of the citizens, insulted by every kind of barbarity, and then thrown into a hideous dungeon. An epidemic and mortal cholic in the army, which the Danes considered as a punishment inflicted on them for their cruel usage of Elphege, opened their eyes. They drew him out of prison. By his prayers, and by giving them bread which he had blessed, he restored them to health, and put an end to the calamity. The chiefs returned thanks to the servant of God, and entered into deliberations for setting him at liberty, which was not granted; covetousness prevailing in their council, and making

them exact, for his ransom, three thousand marks of gold. He told them that the country was exhausted; and, moreover, that the patrimony of the poor could not be alienated. This reply brought on fresh confinement, insults, with threats of torments and immediate death, unless he paid down the demanded ransom. As for gold, he said he had no other than that of true wisdom, which consists in the knowledge and worship of the true God. If they refused to accept this treasure, their punishments would one day be greater than those of Sodom: nor would their empire in England be lasting. At these words the barbarians knocked him down with the backs of their battle-axes, and then stoned him. The saint, like St. Stephen, prayed for his murderers; and, in his last moments, for his flock. “O good shepherd! O incomparable shepherd! Look with compassion on the children of thy church, which I, dying, commend to thy protection.” He received the crown of martyrdom on the 19th of April, A. D. 1012.

Hacon, Turkill, and their other Danish commanders, soon perished in a miserable manner; almost all their fleet, of above two hundred sail, was destroyed by violent storms; and Swein lived to enjoy his regal dignity only a few months, whence he is not usually ranked among the kings of England. Ethelred was then recalled from Normandy, and had for a successor, A. D. 1016, his eldest son, Edmund, denominated *Iron-side*, from his strength of mind, and hardness of body.

The exalted valour, and endearing qualities of this prince, filled the English with uncommon joy. But his utmost exertions could not long maintain the unequal contest. He continued, indeed, to hold the crown; yet not without consigning Mercia, Northumbria, and East Anglia, to Canute the Dane. Edmund survived this partition treaty about one month, being basely assassinated by the contrivance, it is supposed, of the infamous Edric, a Danish count, on whom our king had conferred signal marks of favour and liberality. Canute failed not to take possession of a throne, gained

by invasion, rapine, and cruelty. Henceforward, his administration became conspicuous for justice and moderation: the change being effected by the unceasing exhortations of Agelnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury. To express his veneration for St. Edmund, king and martyr, as well as to make some atonement for the crimes of his countrymen, Canute erected a most stately monument, the magnificent abbey of Edmundsbury. He undertook a journey to Rome, A. D. 1031, procured certain privileges in favour of the English school there established, with a promise of redress in regard to the exorbitant sums, as he calls them, that were given by the metropolitans of England at the time of receiving the pallium. After his return from Rome, he reigned about four years, departing this life, A. D. 1035. Let it suffice to mention the names of his two tyrannical sons and successors, Harold Harefoot and Hardicanute. On the decease of the latter, the English line was restored in the person of Edward the Confessor.

This restoration put a final period to Danish

dominion, and to all Danish devastations of England. They had lasted above two hundred years, with our loss of three hundred thousand men slain in fifty-four battles on land, and thirty-eight sea-fights, not to mention a number of skirmishes and sieges.

Such of the Danish invaders as remained in England, had continual opportunities of being instructed in the faith and law of Christ; and the like blessing was imparted to their respective countries by English priests, the first preachers of the gospel in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. We find all this attested by Ellnoth, a monk of Canterbury, who had lived twenty-four years in Denmark. Thus Sweden owes its conversion, in a great measure, to Ansgar, Rodward, Richalf, Edward, Eskill, David, Flennic, and St. Sigfrid, Archdeacon of York, toward the close of the tenth century. He is styled the apostle of Sweden. In the beginning of the eleventh, St. Olave, King of Norway (the Anlaf mentioned above), took over with him from England several priests of merit, and pious monks;

one of the number named Grimkele, was chosen Bishop of Drontheim, the capital. St. William, Bishop of Roshild, with the co-operation of many other English clergymen, re-established the church of Denmark, and completed the conversion of the nation. The same laborious and truly Christian offices were moreover extended, by our ancestors of those days, to the Isles of Orkney and Ireland.

The Saxon race, it has already been observed, was restored in Edward the Confessor, although he was not the next heir of that line. But this was not a violation of their customs, which allowed a younger brother or an uncle, in case of minority or want of abilities equal to the exigencies of the times, to ascend the throne. Edward Atheling, the nephew of Edward the Confessor, and son of Edmund Ironside, then resided in Hungary, too far removed to prevent a Danish intruder from usurping the crown. Edward was not at a greater distance than Normandy. Now the people of England, looking back with horror on the past dismal scenes of devastation, took a

vigorous resolution of delivering their country from Danish tyranny; and eagerly cast their eyes on Edward, as professing the wisdom of a king united with the qualities of a saint; that would cause justice, goodness, and piety to reign and triumph. Early adversity in exile, and other dangers, had taught him an useful lesson, the undervaluing of worldly pomp and grandeur; and a steady practice of virtue had fortified his mind against the vices of a Norman court. Being at present about fifty years of age, he was crowned on Easter day, in the year, 1042.

That part of the coronation form in the Saxon pontifical, which prays for victory without the effusion of blood, was a singular blessing granted to Edward. Neither had he acquirements, nor did he ever seek to excel in arts, which are wont to furnish out little more than a register of human calamities. But his life was a series of good actions, conducive to the welfare of his subjects, by redressing grievances, remitting the heavy tax of Danegelt, and opening his treasury to the relief of the ne-

cessitous. A menacing word from the mouth of such a king would be more efficacious than punishment inflicted by others. On one occasion, the king is said, at the urgent circumstances of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to have assumed the severity of a judge; when Queen Emma, his mother, was accused of criminal commerce with Alwin, the pious Bishop of Winchester. Trusting in God, the protector of innocence, she offered herself to the trial of Ordeal; and walked blindfold and barefoot over nine red-hot ploughshares, without receiving the least hurt.

Great respect has been shewn by Norman, as well as English barons, to his improved collection of old Saxon institutions. Even in these, our latter days, it continues to form the common law of England, with an exception of such points as have been superseded by subsequent statutes. But what can law avail without the aid of morals? They have no other firm foundation than the sacred maxims of divine religion, which Edward laboured to

preserve and perpetuate, by words, by example, and by a sweetness shining, with peculiar lustre, amidst all the other moral and Christian virtues. Churches and monasteries experienced his munificence; religious establishments were promoted; and the abbey of Westminster built by himself, agreeably to a commutation granted by Leo IX. for a vow the king had made, when an exile in Normandy, of performing a pilgrimage to Rome, if it should please God to deliver his family from the distresses by which it was dispersed and overwhelmed. The king had made preparations for his journey to Rome, but was at last dissuaded by his nobility, and came to a compromise, which was, that each party should depute legates, to lay the nature of his vow, and the perilous state of the nation, before his holiness, Leo IX. The names of the deputies were, Herman and Aldred, bishops; and Wilfrin and Aelfwin, abbots. At their arrival in Rome, they found a great synod assembled, that condemned Berengarius, who had lately

begun to preach against the mystery of the holy Eucharist.* On the list of subscribers to this council, the name of Aldredus Wigra-
densis episcopus is immediately preceded by that of Hermannus Corbinensis episcopus.—
After the death of St. Leo, the king renewed his engagements to Nicolas II. His legates, on this occasion, were the above-named Aldred, with Giso of Wells, and Walter of Hereford, two bishops elect. They both received episcopal consecration from the hands of the Pope, the

* Berengarius is convicted, from his writings, of notorious falsifications; and of perfidy, from his three solemn retractations falsified by him. But he died in the catholic faith, gave proofs of sincere repentance, and spent the last eight years of his life in prayer, alms-deeds, and manual labour, in the Isle of Cosmas. Not a single person of note is mentioned among his followers. De Cave, beside other gross mistakes and misrepresentations, says, his adversaries were only the monks. Hugh, Bishop of Langres, Theoduin of Liege, Eusebius Bruno of Angers, were not of the monastic order. Neither were the two scholastics of Liege, Gossechin and Adelman, many of the bishops who condemned him, and others who confuted his error. Never was any heresy more unanimously condemned over the whole church, as Alban Butler observes in his Life of St. Leo IX. See this life, ed. Edinburgh; Ceillier, Vol. xx. and especially the here-emulating *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, Vol. viii.

year after he had again condemned Berengarius in a Roman council. He ratifies the commutation granted by St. Leo; and moreover exempts the abbey of Westminster from episcopal visitation, and the exercise of any jurisdiction, without the consent of the abbots and monks.

The course of national tranquillity was, indeed, somewhat disturbed by Earl Godwin, taking umbrage at the deference paid to foreigners; whom Edward, mindful of past kindnesses, had introduced into the kingdom. The most distinguished were, Herman, a Lorrainer, appointed to the see of Sherburne; Leofric, a Burgundian, to Crediton; Ulf to Dorchester; William to London; and Robert to Canterbury. However, the ferment was speedily composed by the intervention of the Earls Leofric and Siward, the true supporting columns of his reign. Both were illustrious by their virtues and renowned bravery; Siward, deemed a prodigy of valour, and Leofric consulted as the master of his age. By such means, the long reign of Edward continued peaceful, prosperous, and the happiest of the

Saxon monarchy. Considerations, that have engaged intelligent and impartial posterity to allot him a leading place on the scale of beneficial sovereigns. Of him, with great truth it is said, "he reigned in the hearts of his people!"

He exchanged his mortal crown for immortal glory on the 6th day of January, in the year of our Lord, 1066. Harold, the son of Earl Godwin, then contrived to force a way to the throne, and set the crown on his own head; which he wore only a few months, being defeated and slain by William, Duke of Normandy, afterwards called the *Conqueror*. With Edward therefore, we may, as is usual, close the list of Saxon monarchs.

At this time the Saxons had about one hundred monasteries. The greatest and richest were mostly of their founding; such as Westminster, Glastenbury, St. Albans', Christ Church, and St. Austins' at Canterbury, Abingdon, Shaftesbury, Peterborough, Ramsey, Croyland, Tavistock, Bury St. Edmund's, &c. Leland, who saw this edifice in a state of full

and almost primeval splendour, thus describes it with rapturous admiration: "The sun hath not seen either a city more finely seated, nor a goodlier abbey, whether a man consider the revenues and endowments, or the largeness, or the incomparable magnificence thereof. A man who saw this abbey would say, verily it is a city, so many gates there are in it, and some of brass; so many towers, and a most stately church, upon which attend three other churches, all standing gloriously in the same church-yard, all of passing fine and curious workmanship."

Every great abbey took care to reserve a scriptorium, or an apartment for the transcribing of books, where several monks were assiduously occupied in copying manuscripts of sacred and profane literature. This commendable employment was pursued with peculiar diligence at Croyland. A book of the gospels, even now existing, exhibits a fine specimen of Saxon calligraphy. To render the office more firm and permanent, pensions or estates were often annexed to it; all which particulars, with

other recommendatory circumstances respecting religious houses, then the chief or only nurseries of learning, are fairly stated in the history of English poetry by Wharton, in the Antiquities of England and Wales by Grose, and in the Notitia Monastica of Tanner. Anthony Harmer (an assumed name for Henry Wharton), having execrated the infamous calumnies forged against the monks, goes on making the following observations: "From the beginning to the end, none ever improved their lands and possessions to better advantages, than the monks by building, cultivation, and all other methods, while they kept them in their own hands. And when they leased them out to others, it was the interest of the nation to have such easy tenures continued to numbers of persons who enjoyed them." Such were, confessedly, the literary and civil advantages. Spiritual benefits may be summed up, with St. Augustine, doctor of the church, in two short, but comprehensive words; *example*, and *prayers*. Sanctorum precibus stat mundus.

The language of the Saxons, parts of which we still utter at almost every breath, is recommended by a pleasing perspicuity, and much strength. An unfeigned simplicity, and noble honesty, highly enhanced the merit of their manners. A just and ample encomium on their laws, is saying, that they form the outlines of magna charta. They were enacted in an assembly of the states of the nation, which they denominated Wittena Gemot, council of the wites; and Mycel Synod, great council. The extent of its authority is much controverted. As to the component members, some writers are willing to admit the commoners to a seat in this great assembly of the nation; others exclude them.

Of their orthodoxy in religion and purity of faith, as also of the Britons before them, clear and convincing proofs have from time to time been given in the preceding pages. Succeeding reigns are allowed to have been perfectly Catholic; or, as it has been vulgarly phrased, from the time of the Norman Conquest, the English were Papists with a witness. Of

course, every candid and common reader may now, with equal ease and security, obtain a true knowledge of the religion of England during a series of fifteen hundred years. No new revelation! No new gospel! No new religion! Innovation is a certain mark of error: and St. Paul numbers heresies among the works of the flesh which exclude from the kingdom of Heaven. True faith, the only foundation of a Christian life, is no where to be found but in the true church; which, in the sacred oracles, is denominated a house, a city, and a kingdom. The house of the wise man; the city of God; and the kingdom of Christ: a spiritual kingdom always remaining, and ever to remain, visible and victorious over all the powers of earth and hell. *In the days of those kings, says the prophet Daniel, shall the God of Heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, it shall stand for ever.* The other prophets abound with distinct and magnificent promises to the same effect; and they were repeatedly confirmed by our Divine Redeemer, in the commands given to his apostles, and

their successors in the sacred ministry. *Going therefore teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.—And behold I am with you all days, even unto the end of the world.*

APPENDIX.

NUMBER I.—P. 51.

THE *winter has now passed.* Three hundred years of cruel persecutions, in which the name of God was glorified by the lives and deaths, the virtues and miracles, of whole armies of Christian martyrs; immortal pillars that will support the Church of Christ to the end of time. The apostles bore testimony to the miracles which they had seen. Other miracles they themselves wrought with their own hands, in confirmation of their doctrine: and they sealed their doctrine with their blood. They were followed by almost all the bishops of Rome, of the first three centuries; and by a great multitude of other bishops, pre-eminence being then a step to martyrdom. Triumphal crowns were likewise merited by

most of the celebrated writers, who lived within the same period;—Ignatius, Polycarpus, Clemens, Dionysius Areopægita, Justin the philosopher, Irenæus, Hyppolitus, Apollonius, Cornelius, Cyprian, Lucian, Pamphilus, Victorinus, Methodius, and others; as also by persons of each sex, of every age, and of every constitution.

The virtue of these Christian heroes, it must ever be remembered, was true, because humble and heroic; and proof against all trials. Thus infinitely surpassing, or rather wholly differing from, the pretended heroism of philosophers. Among the number, Socrates is the only one who can be said to have died for his doctrine. But what misgivings appear in the discourse, he is supposed to have composed a little before his death. He also ordered his friends, just before his death, to sacrifice a cock to Esculapius. Plato dissembles, says and unsays, for fear of the hemlock of Socrates. Cicero was sensible of the vanity of heathenish worship; yet, dreading the prison of Socrates, did not dare to announce the truth:

upon which account he is severely rallied by Lactantius. Not so hundreds, thousands, and millions of Christian champions. They voluntarily suffered, in support of facts, every kind of torment with mild and modest, but firm and invincible fortitude; with joyful alacrity, praising and glorifying God, while under the most barbarous tortures. No rage, or resentment, but a sincere love of enemies, and perfect charity for their persecutors, by prayers obtaining of heaven the health of their souls, and miraculous cures of their corporal distempers. Many such bodily benefits are recorded in authentic history. Truly noble it is to behold infirm old age, tender youths, and delicate virgins, rejecting all the proffered allurements of honour, wealth, and pleasure; braving the worst of torments, setting at defiance the proud lords and masters of the earth, and joyfully laying down their lives in defence of virtue, and *the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. This is the victory which overcometh the world, our faith.* Armed with faith and heavenly grace, they

feared not those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul; well knowing that the momentary sufferings of this life make an eternal weight of glory. They likewise know that the God, whom they served, could change their natural weakness for almighty strength, or deliver them with *a mighty hand*.

Hence, on some occasions, the holy martyrs came unhurt out of vessels of boiling oil, boiling pitch, and boiling water. At other times, like the three children in the Babylonian furnace, they received no harm in the midst of flames. The ghastly wounds of others were immediately cured, their mangled bodies restored to perfect health and vigour, or they felt no pain under the most inhuman tortures that could be inflicted by savage tyrants. No wonder, then, to see the executioners instantly converted, throw down their implements of torture, declare themselves Christians, and pour out their glorious blood for the Lord. Not unfrequently (beside innumerable other clear and convincing proofs of divine preservation), not unfrequently, fierce and fa-

mished lions, and other wild beasts, forgetting their rage and hunger, lay prostrate as lambs before the feet of the faithful servants of Jesus Christ; at the sight of which, whole multitudes of pagan spectators repeated with loud acclamations, "Great is the God of the Christians! Great is the God of the Christians!" But I am forcibly carried beyond the limits of my little work, and entering upon a subject that would require the tongues of men and angels! The genuine acts or histories of the martyrs, to which no one ought to be a total stranger, may be perused in Ruinart, Assemani, or in the lives of saints, compiled by Alban Butler. Lactantius, the Christian Tully, has left us a famous book on the untimely and shocking deaths of persecuting emperors, and of their ministers of cruelty.

NUMBER II.—P. 97.

WHITAKER, History of Manchester, Vol. II. p. 468, says: "We find express, though incidental, mention of a psalterium, or liturgy,

used by Columba and his Irish monks of the sixth century; and the same therefore with the British." He does not judge proper to point out the place in which the incidental mention may be found. Perhaps he had in his eye a reference to an antiphonarium of the monastery of Banchor in Ireland. I have not been able, after repeated searches, to come to the knowledge of any other work of the kind. It was copied in the seventh, or at latest in the eighth century, and carried over into Italy by Dungalus Monachus Scotus, and by him bequeathed to the abbey of Bobio, in the reign of Charlemagne. Compare the *Anecdota* of Muratori, T. 4, p. 127, with his *Liturgia Romana*, p. 145. A short notice of this little book will gratify the curious, and may prove instructive.

It begins, "In nomine Dei Summi, canticum, Moysi, audite cæli," &c.—Hymns are then inserted in honour of Christ, the apostles, the martyrs, and the saints of Ireland, with a remembrance, or long catalogue, of their abbots. In honour of Sancti Comgalli abbatis,

nostri. In honour of Sancti Patrici magistri
Scotorum.

“ Audite omnes amantes
Deum, sancta merita
Viri in Christo beati
Patrici episcopi
Quomodo bonum ob actum
Similatur angelis
Æquatur apostolis.

Justis Domini fidelis
In lege catholica

Patrici laudes
Semper dicamus
Ut nos cum illo
Semper vivamus.”

In the church office, it appears that they
named Matutinum the hora prima: and hora
secunda which we now call prima. Thus they
say,

“ Collectio ad secundam . . .
Ad tertiam
Ad sextam
Ad nonam
Ad vespervas
In hora dimidii noctis
Ad nocturnum
Ad matutinum.”

“ Hymnum quando communicarent sacerdotes.

Sancti venite,
Christi Corpus sumite,

Sanctum bibentes,
 Quo redempti sanguinem.
 Salvati Christi
 Corpore et sanguine,
 A quo refecti
 Laudes dicamus Deo.
 Hoc sacramento
 Corporis et sanguinis,
 Omnes exuti
 Ab inferni faucibus.
 Dator salutis
 Christus Filius Dei
 Mundum salvavit
 Per crucem, et sanguinem,
 Pro universis
 Immolatus Dominus
 Ipse sacerdos
 Existit, et hostia.
 Lege præceptum
 Immolari hostias,
 Qua adumbrantur
 Divina mysteria.
 Lucis indultor
 Et salvator omnium
 Præclaram sanctis
 Largitus est gratiam.
 Accedant omnes
 Pura mente creduli,
 Sumant æternam
 Salutis custodiam.
 Sanctorum custos
 Rector quoque Dominus
 Vitæ perennis
 Largitur credentibus.
 Cælestem panem
 Dat esurientibus

De fonte vivo
 Præbet sitientibus.
 Alpha et Omega
 Ipse Christus Dominus
 Venit venturus
 Judicare homines."

"Ad communicare.

Corpus Domini accepimus, et sanguine ejus
 potati sumus, ab omni malo non timebimus,
 quia Dominus nobiscum est.

Alia

Hoc sacrum corpus Domini, et Salvatoris
 sanguinem sumite vobis in vitam perennem.
 Alleluja.

Item Alia.

Refecti Christi corpore, et sanguine tibi
 semper Domine dicamus Alleluja."

NUMBER III.—P. 176.

OUR benign and vigilant apostle here follows a sacred tradition, grounded on various passages of holy writ. In the Old Testament are exhibited illustrious figures of the Eucharist, prophetic allusions of the royal Psalmist, of Isaias, of Jeremias, and the magnificent prediction of Malachy, who closes the series of ancient prophets. *From the rising of the sun even to the going down, my name is great among the gentiles, and in every place*

there is sacrifice, and there is offered to my name a clean offering: for my name is great among the gentiles, saith the Lord of Hosts. On coming to the Law of Grace, which was to accomplish ancient types and figures, we read *the great and precious promises* of the Son of God, recorded in the sixth chapter of the gospel of St. John. *The bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world. . . For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.* By these promises, by changing water into wine, and by innumerable other miracles, the disciples were prepared for the institution of a sacrament and sacrifice, which constitutes a principal excellence of the new law. It is expressed in plain words, worthy of the supreme Deity. *This is my body, which is given for you. This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.* No need of any other evidence. Christ, the way, the truth, and the life, has said it. If the mystery be great, and above the lowly capacities of human reason; so, likewise, as the very

name imports, are all the mysteries of the gospel; particularly the far more incomprehensible mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation. I speak to Christians who know the Scriptures, and the power of God. Even in the course of nature, from the cedar to the hyssop, Omnipotence daily works such wonders as surpass our understanding. How did God make the world out of nothing? There might indeed be room for objection, if the body of Christ in the Eucharist were said to have a gross corporeal existence, as conceived by the Caphernaical Jews. But it is endowed with a spiritual manner of being, as the bodies of the just, described by St. Paul, will be at the time of the general resurrection. *It is raised a spiritual body.* Thus the glorious body of Christ pierced the stone that closed the mouth of the monument;* and, after-

* The opinion of Mr. West, pretending that Christ arose after the stone had been removed, is of no weight against the demonstrations of Suarez, and our other theologians. Theologians are in perfect accord with the primitive fathers; St. Gregory of Naziensum, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Chrysostom, St. Epiphanius, St. Jerome, and St. Augustine.

wards, entered a room, the doors being shut, to use the words of St. Augustine, by *a way impervious to the visual ray of a mortal eye.*

Hence the body of our Lord, spiritualized and glorified, requires no extent of space; and may, by the power of the Almighty, be at once in different places. God is present in all his creatures; and the soul of man is, at the same time, in the head and the heart. Manna, a figure of the Eucharist, preserved the Israelites from distempers. In like manner, it may be admitted, that the *bread of life* imparts corporal benefits, as well as spiritual benedictions. One year, St. Catharine, of Sienna, took no other nourishment, from Ash-Wednesday to the day of the ascension of our Lord. To descend to the senses, so frequently and so vainly objected, it would be a contradiction to them to affirm, that the appearances of bread and wine do not remain, after the priest has pronounced the words of consecration. But it is not the part, either of a philosopher or a divine, to carry the senses out of their sphere. They are no better judges of

what is contained under those appearances, than the eyes are of sound, or the ears of visible objects. The Holy Ghost appeared under the form of a dove; and the angels at the sepulchre of our Lord as young men. Other examples may readily be recalled to mind, by persons conversant in the Holy Bible. Such, in part, are the proofs and illustrations, displayed with genuine eloquence by the apostolical planters, and propagators of the humble and sublime religion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Permit me, for a moment, to take the order of time in naming some of those valuable vouchers, the true lights of the world.

St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, and a disciple of the apostles, expressly teaches, *the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ; which suffered for our sins, and which the Father raised up again by his bounty.* The heavenly mystery is also clearly attested by St. Justin, St. Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, and by St. Cyprian, the famous Bishop of Carthage. Dr. Grabe, an Oxonian editor of

the works of St. Irenous, there owns, that transubstantiation was the doctrine of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, of St. Gregory of Nyssa, of St. John Damascen, and perhaps of several others, aliosque fortasse plures. More than this was not to be expected from an author, bringing in a verdict against himself. Doctor Middleton (Intro. to Inquiry) makes the same concessions for St. Cyprian, St. Chrysostom, and St. Jerom; moreover adding, that transubstantiation is there said to be supported by miracles. Who will now presume to tell his hearers, that the Catholic dogma is an invention of later days. To proceed:—The just named Chrysostom, whose sole authority is amply sufficient to satisfy sincere seekers, enlightens the remotest corners of the earth by his golden commentaries, and eloquent sermons. In them, he repeatedly expounds the great sacrifice of the new law, offered for the living and the dead. And expounds it with a perspicuity, which has merited him the title of *Doctor of the Eucharist*. St. Augustine, an admirable doctor of the western church,

accounts for the wonderful saying of the psalmist, *he was carried in his own hands*, by observing, that it was not possible in man; but in Christ we find it. "For Christ was carried in his own hands, when, recommending his own very body, he said, *this is my body*; for he carried that body in his own hands." His instructor was the renowned St. Ambrose, whose elucidations of this adorable mystery are so clear and decisive, as to preclude all possibility of evasion. He also commemorates the devout attendance of angels on the tremendous mysteries, as St. Chrysostom had done before him, in these words: "The angels stand by the priest, and every choir of the heavenly powers cries out; and the place about the altar is crowded with angels, in honour of Him who lies upon it." In the noble writings of St. Leo the Great, we possess an armoury, that furnishes victorious weapons against every future error, schism, and heresy. How expressive on the divine sacrament of the altar, as on our other articles, are the delightful epistles and poems of St. Paulinus, Bishop of

Nola. Nothing can be more evident than the texts of St. Ephrem, and of his compatriot, St. James, Bishop of Nisibris; the two most eminent of the doctors that adorned the church of Syria. Wherefore, "my tongue," to repeat and apply the words of St. Augustine, confuting the Donatists, "my tongue is Greek, it is Syriac, it is Hebrew, it is of all nations." Let this suffice. The nature of my task will not allow me to enlarge.

A full and satisfactory view of the first six centuries has been presented to the public by Bishop Challoner, in an appendix to a small volume, under the title of a *Specimen of the Spirit*, &c. The faith of those primitive fathers was studiously preserved by their immediate successors. The same, to be concise, was the faith of the lineal descendants of the orthodox Christians of all ages, and of their watchful, jealous, and inveterate enemies. By enemies, in the first place, are denoted the Greek schismatics. Secondly, Nestorian and Eutychian heretics, separated from the church ever since the fifth century. In a word, all

the oriental sects are here agreed. Of this unanimity, so demonstrative of a divine original, abundant testimonies have been produced by Monsieur Arnauld, in his *Perpetuité de la foi*. True it is, English readers, in general, are unable to purchase and peruse that ample and important publication. The deficiency, however, may competently be supplied, by recurring to our own apologists; pious and learned defenders of the faith and discipline of the Catholic church, the pillar and ground of the truth, against which, the gates of hell can never prevail. *Heaven and earth*, says our Lord, *shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.*

NUMBER IV.—P. 238.

IN an account of St. Dunstan, reference may be made to a letter, which he addressed to Wulfin, newly elected bishop of Sherburne. It has been published by Mabillon, *Acta SS. T. 5. p. 239*, and is here submitted to the perusal of the studious reader.

D De Dei [gratia] archiepiscopus fideli amico

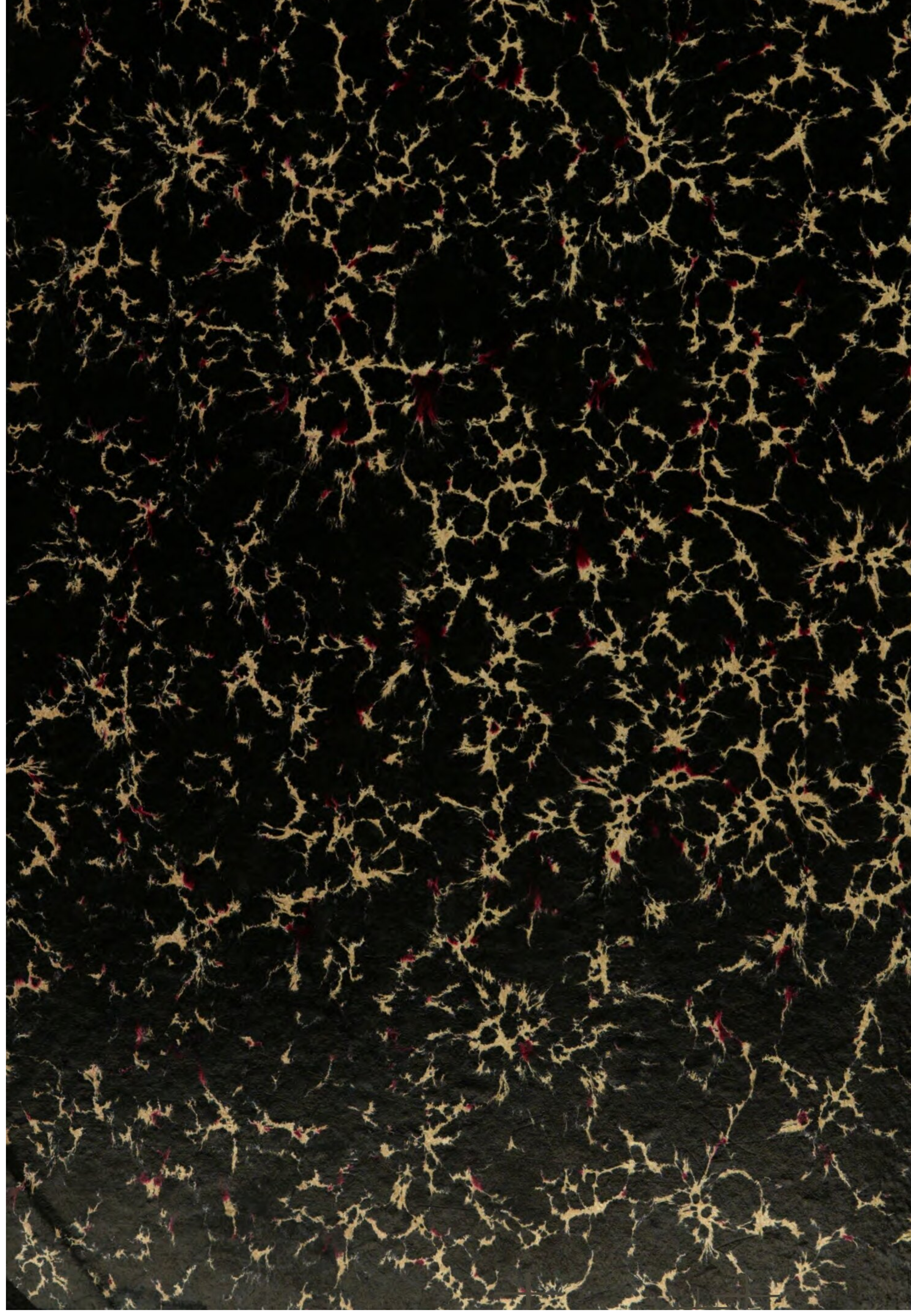
Wulfino episcopo æternæ sospitatis et pacis in Domino Deo salutem. Gratias agamus Deo, qui nos indignos et ultimos servorum suorum præordinavit ad regimen suæ sanctæ Ecclesiæ in tam periculosis et laboriosissimis temporibus. Et nunc in commune deprecemur omnipotentem Dei clementiam, ut ille nos adjuvet in omni opere bono. Et tu, carissime frater, viriliter fac, et fortiter opus Domini quod habes in manibus, perfice ad mercedem animæ nostræ et ad salutem multarum animarum. Non cesset lingua tua in prædicando, non pes tuus circumeundo gregem tibi comissum, non manus tua a laborando, et eleemosynæ fiant per te, et sancta Dei ubique exaltetur Ecclesia. Esto forma salutis omnium, in te sit exemplum conversationis sanctissimæ, in te sit solatium miserorum, in te confortatio dubitantium, in te disciplinæ vigor, in te veritatis fiducia, in te totius bonitatis spes. Non te sæculi pompa exaltet, non ciborum luxus enervet, non vestimentorum vanitas emolliat, non adulantium lingua decipiat, non detrahentium adversitas conturbet, non tristia frangant, non læta ele-

vent: non sis arundo vento agitata, non flos auræ tempestatis decidens, non paries ruinosus, non domus super arenam posita, sed templum esto Dei vivi super firmam petram constructum, cujus ipse sit Spiritus Paraclitus inhabitator. Mitem te et humilem ad meliores ostende, durum et rigidum ad superbos, omnia omnibus factus, ut omnes lucrari possis; habeas in manibus tuis mel et absinthium, quicquid cui placeat edat ex illis: cui de pia prædicatione vesci libeat, accipiat mel; qui dura invectione indigeat, bibat ex absinthio, ita tamen ut liceat ei mel veniæ sperare, si rosea confessio pænitiæ præcedat: omnia vestra cum ordine fiant. Tempus statuatur lectioni, et oratio suas habeat horas, et missarum sollemnia proprio tempore conveniant. Qui diem sapit, Domino sapit. Sit modesta in conviviiis lætitia, sit casta in jejuniis perceptio: lavetur pænitentia facies, ungatur oleo misericordiæ caput, et omnia acceptabilia fiant Domino Deo, qui te elegit sibi sacerdotem. Ducem ammone et omnes sæculares principes, ut pietatem et misericordiam in judiciis conservent, mun-

ditiam cordis et corporis semper diligant, quia beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt. Ecclesiam Christi defendant, ut eorum adjutor ac defensor fiat Dominus Ecclesiæ. Viduis et pupillis misericordes, ut illorum misereatur Deus; et in omnes homines mites et benigni, populum Dei congregantes et non dispergentes, pacem inter se habentes, quia beati pacifici, quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur. Et tu, carissime frater, ante oculos cordis semper habeto timorem Dei et amorem, et liber pastoralis Beati Gregorii patris, ubi Dei rectorum subjectorumque vita diligentius discernitur, sæpius ante te legatur, et nostri memoriam nominis habeto in tuis sanctis orationibus, ut Dei omnipotentis misericordia nos defendat, regat, atque custodiat, sicut vos velle credo, ut in dilectione, Dei et voluntate cursum agamus vitæ nostræ. Et superfluum non æstimes, nec arrogantia, ut vos ammonerem; sed intimo charitatis affectu suscipite, quia urbs firma frater quia a fratre juvatur. Te Deus Omnipotens salvum conservet in ævum.

E R R A T A.

- Page 18, l. 11, *for* Buratunac, *read* Baratanac.
 — 32, l. 13, *for* conceived, *read* received.
 — 34, l. 13, *for* Prefina, *read* Rufina.
 — 39, l. 17, *for* essence, *read* entrance.
 — 41, l. 12, *for* Carciusius, *read* Carausius.
 — 47, l. 2, *for* a well, *read* a wall.
 — 49, l. 7, *for* St. Bride, *read* St. Bede.
 — 51, l. 12, *for* anni tempore, *read* omni tempore.
 — 58, l. 10, *for* consequently, *read* consonantly.
 — 69, l. 9, *for* exposition, *read* opposition.
 — 70, l. 13, *for* Saracens, *read* Saxons.
 — 72, l. 20, *for* chair, *read* choir.
 — 74, l. 5, *for* Israelites, *read* Ismaelites.
 — 77, *for* fugans, *read* fugam; *and for* capiunt *read* sentiunt.
 — 78, line 3 from the bottom, *for* varieties, *read* vanities.
 — 79, l. 3, *for* Thurtigern, *read* Kentigern; l. 7, *for* Zantur,
 read Zantus.
 — 80, l. 1, *for* Merceria, *read* Menevia; l. 14, *for* monarchial,
 read monastical.
 — 82, l. 20, *for* St. Theutigern, *read* St. Kentigern.
 — 83, l. 23, *for* bishop, &c. *read* register of Landaff.
 — 88, l. 20, *for* elientelam, *read* clientelam.
 — 90, l. 16, *for* Dan. *read* Dom.
 — 93, l. 13, *for* Nirryas, *read* Ninyas; l. 21, *for* Theutigern, *read*
 Kentigern.
 — 94, l. 7, *for* Theutigern, *read* Kentigern; l. 11, *for* Torra,
 read Iona.
 — 95, l. 20, *for* St. Corngal, *read* St. Comgal.
 — 125, l. 2, *for* desperate, *read* disparate.
 — 133, l. 12, *for* Theut, *read* Kent.
 — 136, last line, *for* tenure, *read* tonsure.
 — 141, l. 12, *for* Dan. *read* Dom.
 — 146, last line, *for* Tona, *read* Iona.
 — 156, l. 15, *for* in that, *read* in fact.
 — 159, l. 14, *for* hearing, *read* fame.
 — 161, last line, *for* pernicious, *read* penurious.
 — 186, l. 2, *for* Alwin, *read* Alcuin.
 — 189, l. 22, *for* liturgies, *read* litanies.
 — 223, l. 8, *for* Archeus, *read* Archons.
 — 244, l. 8, *for* ferit, *read* gerit.
 — 257, l. 9, *for* Ireland, *read* Iceland.
 — 261, l. 27, *for* emulcating, *read* emulating.
 — 262, l. 22, *for* Master, *read* Nestor.
 — 270, l. 8, *for* constitution, *read* condition.



Daniel, John

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